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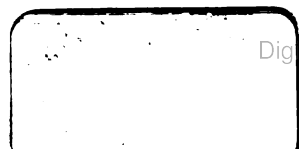
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MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
LORD KAMES.

1911

1911

1911

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS

OF
THE HONOURABLE
HENRY HOME OF KAMES,
ONE OF THE SENATORS OF THE COLLEGE OF JUSTICE, AND ONE OF
THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF JUSTICIARY IN SCOTLAND:

CONTAINING
SKETCHES
OF THE
PROGRESS OF LITERATURE AND GENERAL IMPROVEMENT
IN SCOTLAND DURING THE GREATER PART OF
THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.



*C'est pécher contre le Public que de taire la vertu des Hommes illustres : C'est enlever
l'honneur que méritent les uns, et ravir aux autres le bonheur de les imiter.*

Paneg. du D. de Sully, par le President DE CHEVRY.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

EDINBURGH:
PRINTED FOR WILLIAM CREECH;
AND T. CADELL AND W. DAVIES, LONDON.

1807.

PRINTED BY A. WEILL AND CO. }
EDINBURGH. }

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MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
LORD KAMES.

BOOK III.

CHAPTER I.

Lord Kames appointed a Lord of Justiciary.—His character in that department.—His Correspondence with Dr. Tucker—with Mr Harris of Salisbury—with Dr Franklin renewed—with Dr John Walker.—Letter from Dr Franklin.—His Observations on Scottish Music.

FROM the period of the publication of *Elements of Criticism* in 1762, Lord Kames seems to have, for a few years, devoted himself exclusively to his professional occupations as a Judge.

CHAP. I.

On the 15th of April 1763, he was appointed one of the Lords of Justiciary, the Supreme Criminal Tribunal in Scotland; and that important duty he continued to discharge

Lord Kames
appointed a
Lord of Ju-
sticiary.

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to

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His character in that department.

to the end of his life, with equal diligence and ability, and with the strictest rectitude of moral feeling. He has been censured by some, for severity as a criminal Judge : but he had no other severity than that which arises in a warm and ingenuous mind from the abhorrence of vice ; from the hatred of crimes, and the zeal for their suppression. From the difference in the constitution and forms of the criminal courts in Scotland and in England, there is a material difference in the functions of the Judge. In Scotland, where every criminal is allowed on his trial the aid of counsel to conduct his defence, to examine the evidence, to urge every argument in exculpation that can avail either with Court or Jury, and to reply to the pleadings and charge of the prosecutor, the Judge is not, as in England, understood to be *ex officio* of counsel for the party accused. It is his function to observe the most severe neutrality, to hold the equal balance of justice, and to moderate, on the one hand, any inordinate rigour on the part of the prosecutor, (if that should ever appear, where there is no motive to excite to it), and, on the other, to restrain the more natural, and therefore more frequent attempts of the prisoner's counsel to pervert the law, and confound the limits of justice in the minds of the jury.—In this necessary part of his judicial office, Lord Kames was, from the acuteness of his understanding, and the great extent of his legal knowledge, fitted most eminently to excel ; and his feelings, as I have said, gave the keener edge to his intellect. The Court and the Bar were sensible to

to those merits of the Judge ; but it was not unnatural, that to the ignorant vulgar, that conduct should wear the appearance of severity, which was truly the result of an uniform and steady resolution to fulfil a sacred duty.

As his attention had been long directed to the subject of the penal law, which he had studied as an important branch of the philosophy of the human mind, his opinions were always founded on principle ; and at a time when that department of jurisprudence had been very little cultivated in Scotland, they were of much benefit in reducing both the doctrines of the science and the practice of the Court to a systematic precision and uniformity. We had not then to boast of the elaborate and able *Commentaries* of Mr David Hume the younger, on the *Criminal Law*, both in its doctrinal part, and in the forms of proceedings in the trial of crimes. The antiquated Treatise of Sir George Mackenzie, (published above a century ago), was the only authority on that subject ; in every case a most defective, and very generally an erroneous source of information with regard to the present state of the law.

Agreeably to the former practice of the Court of Justiciary, it was a part of the Judge's duty to examine the witnesses, and to dictate their evidence to the clerk, who engrossed it in the record of the Court. In this part of his function, Lord Kames was particularly skilful. In the mode

BOOK III.

of his examination, there was a judicious precision of interrogatory, peculiarly fitted to bring out the truth. He suffered no attempt on the part of the counsel to brow-beat, to perplex, or irritate the witness in the delivering of his testimony; as rightly judging all such proceedings to be a contamination of the evidence,—an endeavour to restrain or to pervert the truth, which it is the bounden duty of the Judge to bring forth pure and unsophisticated. His dictation of the import of the evidence was a model for accuracy and perspicuity. By the later practice of the Court, (since the 23d Geo. III. c. 45.), the engrossing of the evidence in the record is no longer in use. It was found to protract the trials to an unnecessary length, and is now superseded by the Judge's summary of the proof in his charge to the jury, before they are inclosed to return their verdict.

Correspondence with
Dr Tucker,

Though disengaged for some years from any continued literary occupation, Lord Kames's epistolary correspondence shews, that his mind retained its usual activity, and delighted in an extensive range of useful speculation. The ingenious Dr TUCKER, Dean of Gloucester, and afterwards of Bristol, had, through the medium of Messrs Foulis of Glasgow, the printers of some of his political Tracts, solicited Lord Kames's acquaintance, and begun a correspondence with him in 1757, on some of those topics of political economy which occasionally employed the attention of both. "My printer" (says the Dean) "has given me to understand that your
" Lordship

“ Lordship would not be displeased with an overture of this sort; and such is the celebrity of your character, even in this distant part of the kingdom, that I cannot but wish to cultivate such a correspondence. Self-interest alone prompts to this desire—the knowledge and instruction to be gained by it.” The overture was readily accepted, and the letters yet remaining, shew, that the correspondence was carried on for many years with mutual satisfaction*.

The reputation of Mr HARRIS of Salisbury for his knowledge in universal grammar, evinced by his *Hermes*, and his other ingenious and classical writings, had induced Lord Kames, though personally unacquainted with him, to write to him on some grammatical topics which then engaged his attention. In return, he received from Mr Harris the following letter, which is extremely characteristic of the writer :

—with Mr
Harris of
Salisbury.

“ *London, Jernyn Street, February 5. 1762,*

“ SIR,

“ A large share of business before I left the country, and the necessary duty of attending Parliament, since I have been in town, have together prevented my acknowledging a favour which I ought long since to have done.

“ I

* A few of these letters, the reader, who is conversant in the speculations to which they relate, may not be displeased to find in the Appendix to this volume, NO. F.

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“ I think myself amply paid for all my literary labours, if they can merit approbation from men of learning and ingenuity, I may say in particular the scholars of North Britain, where so strong a relish for Greek and Latin literature still prevails*, while French, and experimental philosophy have almost banished it everywhere else. I don't say that these last studies have not their value ; but I can't approve, that, like those Egyptian kine, they should eat up all the rest. The Barrows, the Wallises, and the Halleys of old, were all critical readers and admirers of the Greek mathematicians. Few, I am told, of our modern geometricians either read them, or are able to do so, if we except your learned and most accurate Professor, Dr Simpson. Some of them blamed me, who am (God knows) but moderately versed in these matters, for saying in my *Hermes*, The *Diametre* of a square, where, according to them, I should have said, The *Diagonal*. They did not know that *Diametre* was Euclid's own word in that very instance:

“ As many people labour under what an old tutor of mine used to call the *Hellenophoby*, I can't tell but the Greek scattered through my *Hermes* may have retarded its sale, by terrifying certain readers from its unpleasing appearance. This gives me little concern, provided I can (according to Milton)

* It were to be wished this compliment were a little more merited than it is in the present day.

Milton) *fit audience find, though few*. Though I hope I have not proved myself a *slave* to authority, I must confess myself a *friend* to it. Invention is a divine thing, a gift only bestowed on the chosen few. But to *invent* and to *complete*, I am prone to believe was never the character of any one. It was a character indeed given to Homer of old; and to Newton of late; and so far is true, they were inventors of *all that was wanting to make their subject perfect*. But had not Kepler and Galileo, perhaps Euclid and Archimedes, existed before, there had never, I believe, been Newton; and had not Linus, Musæus, and those other songsters, which the old bard himself mentions, existed *before*, there had never, I fancy, been Homer.

“ These are considerations which make me so fond of authority; so desirous to build on foundations already laid; to arrange and to explain what others have said; and by a new dress, and proper additions of my own, to give the whole, not only the air, but I think the real character of an original. Indeed, if truth be eternal, what originals can there be else? A man *does not make the truths* he publishes, as a quack does his medicines: He exhibits what he *finds*; what is not only *now*, but was *ever*.

“ ’Tis a common language with writers at present, to declaim against systems; *they* truly are tied to none; *they* freely pursue truth, wherever they can trace her, whomever she

BOOK III.

she may oppose, whomever she may countenance. Infinite are the works of this kind, which come out every day. They grow as fast to maturity, as those teeth sown by Cadmus, and are generally as prone to quarrel with one another. One cause of this species of writing is self-conceit; but another, and a far more frequent, is ignorance and want of literature. If they were not thus to build from their own paltry materials, they would have no materials for building at all.

“ I have so great a dislike to this practice, that I shall certainly follow the contrary, if ever I pursue my original plan. Whether I shall have time or health to do so, is a matter of much doubt, although I have made some beginnings.

“ As to what you say about Pronouns, I don't think it much to differ from what I have said myself. I think them, as you do, substantives, only a secondary race. They represent proper names, but they represent them *with restriction*. If it be said, *Cæsar* conquers, it is said universally, whether it be the speaker, the person spoken *to*, or spoken *of*. But if it be said, *I* conquer, it means *Cæsar*, *under the restriction of being himself the speaker*. Children, in their first essays of speech, appear not to comprehend this *restrictive* appellation of themselves. The little boy says not, Give me some cake; but, Give *Tommy* some cake. He comprehends

hends his own *simple* proper name, before he is able to comprehend its *more artificial substitute*. This I think an argument drawn from nature, that pronouns are *secondary*.

“ If you will forgive my delay, and favour me at your leisure with any other of your literary sentiments, you will highly oblige, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

JAMES HARRIS.”

“ P. S. Since writing the above, Dr Blair has informed me in some matters, of which I should have been ashamed to have been ignorant, and sent this letter to your Lordship.—From him it was I learnt that you were the author of some very ingenious Essays, which I had read some time ago, and which I did not approve the less, from having a tincture of metaphysics. Your Lordship’s *Tract on Necessity* I was particularly struck with. Though I unwillingly and with reluctance assent to that doctrine, (perhaps owing to that *delusive feeling*, which you suppose planted within us), yet I should not wish to have it a task imposed on me to answer what your Lordship has so ably said in support of that subject.

“ *February 6. 1762.*”

The correspondence with Dr FRANKLIN had been for some time interrupted, when Lord Kames received from him the following letter, written immediately before his departure

—with Dr
Franklin,

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for

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for America in 1762, after a residence of some years in London, in the quality of agent for several of the colonies, in those important concerns which they had to transact with the Government of the mother-country.

“ *Portsmouth, August 17. 1762.*

“ MY DEAR LORD,

“ I am now waiting here only for a wind to waft me to America, but cannot leave this happy island and my friends in it, without extreme regret, though I am going to a country and a people that I love. I am going from the old world to the new; and I fancy I feel like those who are leaving this world for the next; grief at the parting; fear of the passage; hope of the future: these different passions all affect their minds at once; and these have tendered me down exceedingly. It is usual for the dying to beg forgiveness of their surviving friends, if they have ever offended them. Can you, my Lord, forgive my long silence, and my not acknowledging till now the favour you did me in sending me your excellent book? Can you make some allowance for a fault in others which you have never experienced in yourself; for the bad habit of postponing from day to day, what one every day resolves to do to-morrow? a habit that grows upon us with years, and whose only excuse is, that we know not how to mend it. If you are disposed to favour me, you will also consider how much one's mind is taken up and distracted by the many little affairs one has to settle, before

before the undertaking such a voyage, after so long a residence in a country ; and how little in such a situation, one's mind is fitted for serious and attentive reading, which, with regard to the *Elements of Criticism*, I intended before I should write. I can now only confess and endeavour to amend. In packing up my books, I have reserved yours to read on the passage. I hope I shall therefore be able to write to you upon it soon after my arrival. At present I can only return my thanks, and say that the parts I have read gave me both pleasure and instruction ; that I am convinced of your position, new as it was to me, that a good taste in the arts contributes to the improvement of morals ; and that I have had the satisfaction of hearing the work universally commended by those who have read it.

“ And now, my dear Sir, accept my sincerest thanks for the kindness you have shewn me, and my best wishes of happiness to you and yours. Wherever I am, I shall esteem the friendship you honour me with as one of the felicities of my life ; I shall endeavour to cultivate it by a more punctual correspondence, and I hope frequently to hear of your welfare and prosperity. Adieu, my dear friend, and believe me ever most affectionately yours,

B. FRANKLIN.”

I have mentioned the very active share taken by Lord Kames in all the proceedings of the Board of Trustees for

—with Dr
John Wal-
ker.

B 2

the

BOOK III.

the Encouragement of the Fisheries, Arts, and Manufactures, and Commissioners for the Management of the Forfeited Estates. Among other useful plans which were the fruit of his suggestion, was a visitation or survey of the *Western Islands*, with a view to the improvement of that much neglected object, the Herring-Fishery, as well as the introduction of such a degree of agriculture and pasturage, or species of manufacture, as might be suitable to the soil, climate, and other local circumstances of the several Isles. The person whom he pitched upon for that purpose, and whom the Commissioners of Annexed Estates accordingly appointed, was the late Dr JOHN WALKER, (afterwards Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh), a man most eminently qualified for that employment, as joining to every endowment of scientific knowledge requisite for the undertaking, an ardent mind, and a great portion of natural sagacity and penetration. The following letter, written from Stornoway, in the Isle of Lewis, suggests important matters of consideration to every well-wisher to the interests of his country :

“ *To Lord KAMES.*

“ MY LORD, *Stornoway, August 17. 1764.*

“ I received yesterday the favour of your Lordship’s letter, and have taken this first opportunity, since my last, to acquaint you with my progress.

“ After

“ After leaving *Isla*, I proceeded to *Jura*, *Colonsay*, *Oronsay*, *Teolmkill*, *Mall*, *Coll*, *Tiree*, *Rum*, *Egg*, and *Canna*; after which I went through *Barra*, *South* and *North Uist*, *Benbecula*, *Bernera*, *Valay*, *Pabbay*, *Ensay* and *Harris*, and arrived yesterday at this place.

“ I have seen the most fertile lands I ever saw in my life, without cultivation; a people by nature the most acute and sagacious, perfectly idle; the most valuable fisheries without lines or nets; and in every corner, one of the finest harbours that nature ever formed, a beautiful though useless void, as inanimate and unfrequented as those of the *Terra Australis*.

“ The only appearance of industry I have met with in the Islands, is at this place. They have for some time had a considerable fishery of cod and ling. Their greatest discouragement is the difficulty of procuring salt, and the hazard they run with salt-bonds. But that, I hope, will be removed in this corner, by the erection of a custom-house, which was done yesterday.

“ One of the most effectual encouragements of the fishery in the Islands, and I think the easiest and cheapest, that has yet occurred to me, would be £. 1000 worth of salt and casks laid up at one or two proper places, to be sold to the inhabitants at prime cost.

“ The

BOOK III.

“ The Herrings have been swarming, since the end of last month, on the coasts both of the main-land, and Long-Island; but except a few taken in Skye, I have not seen nor heard of one *last* being preserved.

“ Lying at anchor last Monday night, in calm moonshine, in the fine land-locked lake at Island-Glass in the Lewes, which is a circle of two miles, perfectly surrounded with lofty mountains, I saw the water heaving with the fish, and felt even the air strongly impregnated with their smell. Three small Highland yawls, each of them with an old tattered net, came alongside of us by daylight, loaded to the brim, with the largest herrings I ever saw, which the poor people were anxious to sell at fourpence the six score, having no salt nor casks to preserve them. And this is at present the case in every loch in these parts.

“ When the spinning-school was erected here eight months ago, it met with the greatest opposition from the people. No young woman could be brought to it, till they were compelled. To avoid this, great numbers of them got themselves married, which was the case with several but of twelve years old. But finding that this was to be no protection, they at length submitted, and ever since, the school has continued full. They now find it both easy and profitable, and pursue it with a degree of spirit and cheerfulness, which is very agreeable. I saw above fifty of them, from nine to twenty-

twenty-five years of age, at their wheels, in one room, where a wheel was scarce ever known before. They seemed quite happy at their work, and all joined in a Highland song, which gave me more pleasure, if it be safe to own such an unpolite notion, than any concert I was ever present at.

“ The spinning mistress, who is a woman from Fife, I found under real, nay I may say, bodily amazement, at the quick apprehension and docility of her scholars; who, though they understand not her language, comprehend in a day or two every thing she means. I was not, however, so much surprised at this, as the good woman seemed to be, having been for two months past more and more convinced, that the mind of man is to be observed more and more perfect, as one moves northwards: that a penetrating air seems to produce penetrating souls, and that wind and weather, the keener they are, appear to give the sharper edge to the human understanding.

“ I have met with a strong confirmation of my notion of raising hemp in the Western Islands. I was on Tuesday last, on board of a herring-buss in Loch-shell, bound from Stornoway to the rendezvous at Campbelltown, whose nets are wholly made of hemp which grew in the Lewes. But there is not a stalk of it in any other of the Islands.

“ I

BOOK III.

“ I inquired carefully after the plant which dyes black without burning the cloth, and found it, at length, in South Uist, where indeed they make a fine black with it. I hope to have the pleasure of shewing it to your Lordship in great plenty in Duddingston Loch. But the franking act obliges me to stop.—I ever am your Lordship’s devoted servant,

JOHN WALKER.”

The fruit of this journey, (which lasted seven months, and in which, by Dr Walker’s own computation, he traversed by sea and land, a space of above three thousand miles), was a most elaborate Report made to the Board of Annexed Estates, relative to the present state of Agriculture, Fisheries, and Manufactures in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, with an ample detail of the best means for their improvement, as suggested by the nature of the country, and its local advantages.

On the return of Dr Franklin to London in 1765, Lord Kames received from him the following letter ; which affords some interesting particulars of the life of that extraordinary man ; together with some ingenious observations on the national Music of the Scots :

“ *Craven Street, London, June 2. 1765.*”

“ MY DEAR LORD,

Letter from
Dr Franklin.

“ I received with great pleasure your friendly letter by Mr Alexander, which I should have answered sooner by some

some other conveyance, if I had not understood that his stay here was like to be so long. I value myself extremely on the continuance of your regard, which I hope hereafter better to deserve, by more punctual returns in the correspondence you honour me with.

“ You require my history from the time I set sail for America. I left England about the end of August 1762, in company with ten sail of merchant ships, under convoy of a man of war. We had a pleasant passage to Madeira, where we were kindly received and entertained ; our nation being then in high honour with the Portuguese, on account of the protection we were then affording them against the united invasions of France and Spain. 'Tis a fertile island, and the different heights and situations among its mountains, afford such different temperaments of air, that all the fruits of northern and southern countries are produced there ; corn, grapes, apples, peaches, oranges, lemons, plantains, bananas, &c. Here we furnished ourselves with fresh provisions, and refreshments of all kinds ; and after a few days proceeded on our voyage, running southward till we got into the trade winds, and then with them westward, till we drew near the coast of America. The weather was so favourable, that there were few days in which we could not visit from ship to ship, dining with each other, and on board the man of war ; which made the time pass agreeably, much more so than when one goes in a single ship ; for this was like tra-

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velling in a moving village, with all one's neighbours about one. On the first of November, I arrived safe and well at my own house, after an absence of near six years, found my wife and daughter well; the latter grown quite a woman, with many amiable accomplishments acquired in my absence, and my friends as hearty and affectionate as ever; with whom my house was filled for many days, to congratulate me on my return. I had been chosen yeatly during my absence to represent the city of Philadelphia in our Provincial Assembly; and on my appearance in the House, they voted me £. 3000 Sterling for my services in England, and their thanks delivered by the Speaker. In February following, my son arrived, with my new daughter; for with my consent and approbation he married, soon after I left England, a very agreeable West India lady, with whom he is very happy. I accompanied him into his government, where he met with the kindest reception from the people of all ranks, and has lived with them ever since in the greatest harmony. A river only parts that province and ours, and his residence is within seventeen miles of me, so that we frequently see each other. In the spring of 1763, I set out on a tour through all the northern colonies, to inspect and regulate the Post-offices in the several provinces. In this journey, I spent the summer, travelled about 1600 miles, and did not get home till the beginning of November. The Assembly sitting through the following winter, and warm disputes arising between them and the Governor, I became wholly

wholly engaged in public affairs : for besides my duty as an Assembly-man, I had another trust to execute, that of being one of the Commissioners appointed by law to dispose of the public money appropriated to the raising and paying an army to act against the Indians, and defend the frontiers. And then in December, we had two insurrections of the back inhabitants of our province, by whom twenty poor Indians were murdered, that had from the first settlement of the province lived among us, under the protection of our Government. This gave me a good deal of employment ; for as the rioters threatened farther mischief, and their actions seemed to be approved by an increasing party, I wrote a pamphlet, entitled, *A Narrative, &c.* (which I think I sent you), to strengthen the hands of our weak Government, by rendering the proceedings of the rioters unpopular and odious. This had a good effect : and afterwards, when a great body of them with arms marched towards the capital, in defiance of the Government, with an avowed resolution to put to death 140 Indian converts then under its protection, I formed an association at the Governor's request, for his and their defence, we having no militia. Near 1000 of the citizens accordingly took arms ; Governor Penn. made my house for some time his head-quarters, and did every thing by my advice ; so that for about forty-eight hours I was a very great man, as I had been once some years before, in a time of public danger : But the fighting face we put on, and the reasonings we used with the insurgents, (for

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I went, at the request of the Governor and Council, with three others, to meet and discourse them), having turned them back, and restored quiet to the city, I became a less man than ever: for I had by these transactions made myself many enemies among the populace; and the Governor, (with whose family our public disputes had long placed me in an unfriendly light, and the services I had lately rendered him not being of the kind that make a man acceptable), thinking it a favourable opportunity, joined the whole weight of the proprietary interest to get me out of the Assembly, which was accordingly effected at the last election, by a majority of about 25 in 4000 voters. The House, however, when they met in October, approved of the resolutions taken while I was Speaker, of petitioning the Crown for a change of Government, and requested me to return to England to prosecute that petition; which service I accordingly undertook, and embarked the beginning of November last, being accompanied to the ship, sixteen miles, by a cavalcade of three hundred of my friends, who filled our sails with their good wishes; and I arrived in thirty days at London. Here I have been ever since engaged in that, and other public affairs relating to America, which are like to continue some time longer upon my hands: but I promise you, that when I am quit of these, I will engage in no other; and that as soon as I have recovered the ease and leisure I hope for, the task you require of me, of finishing my *Art of Virtue*, shall be performed. In the mean time, I must request

quest you would excuse me on this consideration, that the powers of the mind are possessed by different men in different degrees, and that every one cannot, like Lord Kames, intermix literary pursuits and important business, without prejudice to either.

“ I send you herewith two or three other pamphlets of my writing on our political affairs, during my short residence in America; but I do not insist on your reading them; for I know you employ all your time to some useful purpose.

“ In my passage to America, I read your excellent work, the *Elements of Criticism*, in which I found great entertainment: much to admire, and nothing to reprove. I only wished you had examined more fully the subject of Music, and demonstrated, that the pleasure which artists feel in hearing much of that composed in the modern taste, is not the natural pleasure arising from melody or harmony of sounds, but of the same kind with the pleasure we feel on seeing the surprising feats of tumblers and rope-dancers, who execute difficult things. For my part, I take this to be really the case, and suppose it the reason why those, who being unpractised in music, and therefore unacquainted with those difficulties, have little or no pleasure in hearing this music. Many pieces of it are mere compositions of tricks. I have sometimes at a concert, attended by a common audience,

Dr Franklin's observations on Scottish music.

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dience, placed myself so as to see all their faces, and observed no signs of pleasure during the performance of much that was admired by the performers themselves; while a plain old *Scottish Tune*, which they disdained, and could scarcely be prevailed on to play, gave manifest and general delight. Give me leave on this occasion to extend a little the sense of your position, that "Melody and Harmony are separately agreeable, and in union delightful," and to give it as my opinion, that the reason why the Scotch tunes have lived so long, and will probably live for ever, (if they escape being stifled in modern affected ornament), is merely this, that they are really compositions of melody and harmony united, or rather that their melody is harmony. I mean the simple tunes sung by a single voice. As this will appear paradoxical, I must explain my meaning. In common acceptation indeed, only an agreeable *succession* of sounds is called *Melody*; and only the *co-existence* of agreeing sounds, *Harmony*. But since the memory is capable of retaining for some moments a perfect idea of the pitch of a past sound, so as to compare with it the pitch of a succeeding sound, and judge truly of their agreement or disagreement, there may, and does arise from thence a sense of harmony between present and past sounds, equally pleasing with that between two present sounds. Now the construction of the old Scotch tunes is this, that almost every succeeding *emphatical* note, is a third, a fifth, an octave, or in short some note that is in concord with the preceding note. Thirds are chiefly

ly used, which are very pleasing concords *. I use the word *emphatical*, to distinguish those notes which have a stress laid on them in singing the tune, from the lighter connecting notes, that serve merely, like grammar articles, to tack the others together. That we have a most perfect idea of a sound

* This notion of Dr Franklin's respecting what may be called the *Ideal Harmony* of the Scottish melodies, is extremely acute, and is marked by that ingenious simplicity in the thought, which is the characteristic of a truly philosophic mind. In supplement to his observation, that the past sound being retained by the memory, forms a concord with the present sound, it may perhaps be added, that the *tympanum* of the ear continuing to vibrate for some little time, after it is struck by any musical note, the succeeding note will be either agreeable or disagreeable, as it accords, or is in discordance with the existing vibration. Now a succession of notes by *thirds* and *fifths*, will always find the tympanum in concord, and the last vibration harmonizing with the succeeding. This notion accounts completely for the effect of the Scottish melodies, in giving pleasure alike to an intelligent judge of music, and to a person of uncultivated taste, provided he have a good musical ear: for the pleasure arising from a succession of sounds, in the regular intervals of *thirds* and *fifths*, and likewise that arising from their concord, is founded in nature, and in the mechanical structure of the organs of hearing, and is altogether independent on custom or acquired taste. A Scottish air will therefore be grateful alike to the ear of a Greenlander, a Japanese, and a native of Italy: If possessed of the musical sense, they will all equally understand and relish it; for it speaks an universal language.—*Nota.* Since writing the above, having examined the late edition of Dr Franklin's *Works*, (published in 1806), I find these remarks on the Scottish music inserted there, with the addition of an observation precisely to the effect of the above, regarding the mechanical impression on the *tympanum*; which is farther illustrated by the analogous impression made on the visual nerves by luminous objects, which continues for a while after the eyes are shut.—See FRANKLIN'S *Works*, vol. ii. p. 340.

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sound just past, I might appeal to all acquainted with music, who know how easy it is to repeat a sound in the same pitch with one just heard. In tuning an instrument, a good ear can as easily determine that two strings are in unison, by sounding them separately, as by sounding them together; their disagreement is also as easily, I believe I may say more easily and better distinguished when sounded separately; for when sounded together, though you know by the beating, that one is higher than the other, you cannot tell which it is.—Farther, when we consider by whom these ancient tunes were composed, and how they were first performed, we shall see that such harmonical succession of sounds was natural and even necessary in their construction. They were composed by the minstrels of those days, to be played on the harp accompanied by the voice. The harp was strung with wire, and had no contrivance, like that in the modern harpsichord, by which the sound of a preceding note could be stopt the moment a succeeding note began. To avoid *actual* discord, it was therefore necessary, that the succeeding emphatic note should be a chord with the preceding, as their sounds must exist at the same time. Hence arose that beauty in those tunes that has so long pleased, and will please for ever, though men scarce know why. That they were originally composed for the harp, and of the most simple kind, I mean a harp without any half notes, but those in the natural scale, and with no more than two octaves of strings from C to C, I conjecture from another circumstance, which is, that not one of those tunes really
ancient

ancient has a single artificial half-note in it; and that in tunes where it was most convenient for the voice, to use the middle note of the harp, and place the key in F, there the B; which if used, should be a B flat, is always omitted by passing over it with a third. The connoisseurs in modern music will say I have no taste,—but I cannot help adding, that I believe our ancestors, in hearing a good song distinctly articulated, sung to one of those tunes, and accompanied by the harp, felt more real pleasure than is communicated by the generality of modern operas, exclusive of that arising from the scenery and dancing. Most tunes of late composition not having the natural harmony united with their melody, have recourse to the artificial harmony of a bass and other accompanying parts. This support, in my opinion, the old tunes do not need, and are rather confused than aided by it. Whoever has heard *James Oswald* play them on his violoncello, will be less inclined to dispute this with me. I have more than once seen tears of pleasure in the eyes of his auditors; and yet I think even his playing those tunes would please more, if he gave them less modern ornament*.

“ My

* That these observations are dictated by good taste, we may presume from their agreement with the opinions of one who was an exquisite judge of the subject. “ The Scottish songs, when sung in the genuine, natural manner, must affect the heart of every person of feeling, whose taste is not vitiated by fashion and novelty. As they are the effusions of genius, and devoid of art, they bid defiance to artificial graces and affected cadences.

“ My son, when we parted, desired me to present his affectionate respects to you, Lady Kames, and your amiable children : be so good with those, to accept mine, and believe me, with sincerest esteem, my dear Lord, &c.

B. FRANKLIN.”

“ P. S. I do promise myself the pleasure of seeing you and my other friends in Scotland, before I return to America.”

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“ cadences. To a sweet, liquid, flowing voice, capable of swelling a note
 “ from the softest to the fullest tone, and what the Italians call a *voce di*
 “ *petto*, must be joined sensibility and feeling, and a perfect understanding
 “ of the subject and words of the song, so as to know the significant word, on
 “ which to swell or soften the tone, and lay the force of the note. From a
 “ want of knowledge of the language, it generally happens, that to most of
 “ the foreign masters, our melodies at first seem wild and uncouth; for
 “ which reason, in their performance they generally fall short of our expec-
 “ tation.—It is a common defect in some who pretend to sing, to affect to
 “ smother the words, by not articulating them, so as we scarce can find out
 “ either the subject or language of the song. This is always a sign of want
 “ of feeling, and the mark of a bad singer, particularly of Scottish songs,
 “ where there is generally so intimate a correspondence between the air and
 “ the subject. Indeed, there can be no good vocal music without it.—The
 “ proper accompaniment of a Scottish song, is a plain, thin, dropping bass,
 “ on the harpsichord, or guitar. The fine breathings, those heart-felt touches
 “ which genius alone can express in our songs, are lost in a noisy accompa-
 “ nimett of instruments. The full chords of a thorough bass, should be
 “ used sparingly, and with judgment, not to overpower, but to support and
 “ raise the voice at proper pauses.”—*Dissertation on the Scottish Music, by*
WILLIAM TYTLER, Esq; in the Transactions of the Society of Antiquaries of
Scotland.

CHAPTER II.

Succession to the Estate of Blair-Drummond.—Lord Kames's Agricultural improvements.—Extraordinary plan of improvement on the Moss of Kincardine.—His plans of Gardening.—Correspondence with Mrs Montagu.

IN the year 1766, Lord Kames received a very large addition to his income, by the succession to the estate of Blair-Drummond, which devolved on his wife by the death of her brother George Drummond, Esq. This event was attended with no other change on his part than the extension of his schemes of benevolence and public spirit. To the honour of his Lady, who brought him this great accession of fortune, it is but just to mention, that, confining herself with admirable discretion to her domestic duties, and to the regulation of a more ample household, she was never known to interfere in the most trifling particular with her husband's management of this estate, which though devised to her and to her heirs, under the limitations of a strict entail, she left him to conduct with as little controul as if it had been his paternal inheritance.

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Succession to
the estate of
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His agricultural improvements.

The seasons of vacation were now spent at Blair-Drummond, where he began to execute a variety of agricultural improvements on an extended scale, which, while they set a great example for the imitation of the neighbouring landholders, have proved of the most solid and permanent benefit to the proprietor and to his heirs. He had gained much useful experience in the cultivation of his estate of Kames; and the same modes of husbandry in the raising of green crops, of sown grasses, summer-fallowing, and other practices of English agriculture, which he had successfully introduced in the county of Berwick, were now transferred to his new possessions, and prosecuted with great vigour and perseverance.

Extraordinary plan of improvement on the Moss of Kincardine.

Among these plans of improvement was one of a nature so extraordinary, as to be generally regarded at first as a chimerical project, which must either have been abandoned after a short experiment, or if persevered in, attended with the most serious loss to the undertaker. Yet this project, of which the apparent difficulties would have deterred a weaker spirit, was the result of the most sagacious foresight, and founded on the surest principles; and it has turned out to advantage far surpassing the most sanguine views of its contriver.

The Moss of Kincardine, which is a level swamp of about four miles in length, and from one to two miles in breadth, is

is situated between the rivers Forth and Teith, immediately above their confluence. It contains about 2000 Scots acres, of which 1500 belong to the estate of Blair-Drummond, and had lain for ages in a state utterly waste and useless, unless for the supply of peat-fuel to the adjoining cottagers. The *stratum* of moss which covered this great tract of land was on an average from eight to nine feet in thickness; and it was known from the quality of the surrounding lands, which form a part of the same surface over which the moss is superinduced, that under this *stratum* there was a soil of rich clay and vegetable mould, which in some former period of time had been covered with forest timber. Lord Kames's project was nothing less, than to remove entirely this immense body of moss, by floating it into the Forth by means of channels or ditches cut through it into the river; and thus to bring into use the valuable soil which lay under it, and was fit for all the purposes of agriculture. Of this bold undertaking he first ascertained the practicability by making experiments upon a small scale; and he gradually extended his operations as he found them completely successful. The scheme was attended with no risk upon his part, as the land in its natural state was wholly unproductive; and the planters or moss-tenants whom he engaged in the undertaking, received no other premium for the labour of clearing their little farms, than the holding them rent-free for a few years. He lived to see about one-third of this great tract of land perfectly cleared, and yielding

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ing a rent in proportion to the value of the soil brought into tillage. Since his death, these operations have been prosecuted by his son Mr Drummond-Home, on a scale yet more extensive; and are now brought nearly to a conclusion, by which a permanent addition of a great extent of valuable soil, now peopled with industrious inhabitants, is gained to this estate, and to the country*.

While

* This valuable improvement is mentioned with deserved encomium by Dr Walker, in his MS. *Report on the State of the Highlands and Islands*. "Each person" (says he) "has a lot of eight acres of the moss assigned to him by lease for thirty-eight years, with a proper quantity of timber to build a house, and two bolls of oatmeal to support him while rearing it. For the first seven years, he pays no rent; the eighth year, he pays one merk Scots; the ninth year, two merks; and so on, with the addition of a merk yearly, till the end of the first nineteen years. On the commencement of the second nineteen years, he begins to pay a yearly rent of 12s. for each acre of land cleared from moss, and 2s. 6d. for each acre that is not cleared. Upon these terms, this extensive tract, which scarce ever before could feed any thing but a *moor-fowl*, and was of no value to the proprietor, is now peopled with 600 inhabitants, who raise valuable crops of grain, beside other productions. From mean hovels, they have now got into good brick houses. They have cattle and carriages in abundance, and form a colony of industrious, virtuous and happy people."—The writer adds an observation well deserving of attention: "There is not a considerable landholder in the Highlands of Scotland, who has not a much greater extent of waste land than the Moss of Kincardine, which might all be improved in a similar manner, but with more ease, and at far less expence. In any trial to be

While prosecuting with ardour these material improvements of his estate, he carried on at the same time many plans of embellishment, suggested by those great features of natural beauty and magnificence which the surrounding scenery exhibits. In the latter operations, he was aided by the good taste of Mrs Drummond, who took great pleasure in ornamental gardening, and was peculiarly skilful in the culture of curious plants and flowers. It was here he carried

“ be made in this way, there was a rule adopted by Lord Kames, and followed by his son, which it would be material to observe. Every tenant in the moss has the liberty of selling his lease, provided he enters on the cultivation of a new possession. This liberty has been of great advantage, both to the settlers, and to the progress of the improvement. Many of them, after their lots were cleared and brought into culture, have sold their leases to considerable advantage, and have entered on the improvement of new possessions with fresh vigour.—Of all the proposals made for the improvement of agriculture in the Highlands, there seems to be none so simple, so practicable, so inexpensive, so effectual, and of such general utility, as that which is suggested in the above observations.”

Since the date of Dr Walker's Report, the improvement of the moss has proceeded rapidly. In the end of summer 1805, the number of acres cleared and rendered arable, was 606, the houses of the planters 169, and the number of the inhabitants 790.

A particular account of this useful undertaking, from its commencement through the whole of its progress, and an ample detail of the process for clearing away the moss, and the machinery employed in it, are to be found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the article *Moss*.

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Correspondence with Mrs Montagu.

ried into execution the plan of a winter-garden, which he had suggested in his *Elements of Criticism* *.

Mrs MONTAGU, the elegant author of an *Essay on the Writings and Genius of Shakespeare* *, in a tour she made to the Highlands in the autumn of 1766, spent some days at Blair-Drummond. After her return to her country-seat in Northumberland, Lord Kames thus addresses her, in a letter dated 29th October 1766 :

To

* “ In a hot country,” (he remarks) “ it is a capital object to have what may be termed a *summer-garden*, that is, a space of ground disposed by art and by nature to exclude the sun, but to give free access to the air. In a cold country, the capital object should be a *winter-garden*, open to the sun, sheltered from wind, dry under foot, and having the appearance of summer by a variety of evergreens. The relish of a country life is extinguished in France, and is decaying fast in Britain. But as still a few people of fashion, and some of taste, pass the winter, or part of it, in the country, it is amazing that winter-gardens should be almost totally overlooked. During summer, every field is a garden ; but for six months of the year, the weather is seldom so good in Britain, as to afford comfort in the open air without shelter, and yet, seldom so bad as not to afford comfort with shelter.”—*Elements of Criticism*, vol. ii. p. 448.

* Daughter of Matthew Robinson, Esq; of West-Layton in Yorkshire, and Monk's-Horton near Hythe in Kent, sister to the late Lord Rokeby, and cousin to the first Lord Rokeby, the Primate of Ireland. She was married to Edward Montagu, Esq; of Denton in Northumberland, whom she survived many years, and whose ample fortune she inherited. She died at the age of 80, August 25. 1800.

To Mrs MONTAGU.

* On no one thing at present is my heart more bent than to have Mrs Montagu's good opinion ; and although I imagined I could write to her with as much ease as I could make her a visit at her old castle of Denton-Hall, yet when it came to the trial, my heart failed me, and I put the business off from day to day, till I came to be troubled in mind with a spectre, that appeared in the shape of neglected duty.—Unless for this powerful call, I blush to own, that probably I should have fallen a sacrifice to that contemptible virtue called bashfulness.—

" On the 10th day of September last, I saw Mrs Montagu carried off corporally in a post-chaise from Blair-Drummond : and yet strange to say she has been the chief of our *dramatis personæ* ever since. In my solitary walks she has never ceased to be my faithful companion, and has inspired me with most valuable hints for my rural embellishments. Follows a sketch of some of them. You'll probably remember the long polished walk along the side of the river. That walk is to be extended over a great variety of ground, and to take in a variety of objects, so as to make a circuit of not less than four miles. One part is enchanting : the road sinks imperceptibly into a hollow, originally the bed of a river, lined on both sides with high banks covered with wood, which

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which hides every object from the sight, but the sky. Emerging into open day-light, the first object that strikes the eye is the noble Castle of Stirling, situated on a rock, wild and romantic.

“ A rill of water runs neglected through the fields, obscured by pretty high banks. It is proposed that the water be raised in different places by stone buildings imitating natural rocks, which will make some beautiful cascades. The banks to be planted with flowering shrubs, and access to the whole by gravel paths. The group will produce a mixture of sweetness and liveliness, which makes fine harmony in *gardening* as well as in *life* *.

“ There is a mass of wood, as you will recollect, near the house of at least six or seven acres, grown up by neglect to an impenetrable thicket. I ordered a path to be made in it, and, on my return from the circuit, was agreeably surprised to find a great variety of pleasing heights and hollows which had lain quite concealed. I propose this for a *winter-garden*; sand-walks to be carried through it in all directions; and

a

* The writer, it is to be observed, is here indulging his imagination in projected schemes of embellishment; some of which, from a change of taste, and the adoption of other plans of improvement, were not carried into execution.

a variety of evergreens will afford shelter, verdure and dry-footing all the winter over. I enjoy this spot even by anticipation, the scene of many amusing thoughts with a sensible companion, and of meditation when alone.

“ But amongst my other plans, I have not forgot the spot pitched upon by you for a seat; and because every thing belonging to you should have something peculiar, the bottom to be free from wet, is contrived to fold up, and to have for its ornament a plate of brass with this inscription, “ Rest, “ and contemplate the beauties of art and Nature.”

“ Did you never observe that those naturally the most bashful, become by habit the most forward. The effort to surmount an obstacle gives an impulse that carries one to the opposite extreme. This is at present the case with your humble servant; for now he says, that were you ever so fatigued you must listen a little longer. A new edition of the *Elements of Criticism* is demanded, and, if you approve, I will add some remarks to the following purpose. In things merely ornamental, nothing can do better than to copy the works of Nature. Hence the beauty of Chinese paper, imitating plants and flowers, flowered silks, &c. But in things made for use, the parts ought to be so constructed as to answer precisely their purpose. Such things, it is true, may admit of ornament; but the constituent parts and the ornaments ought not to be jumbled together. I admit, for example,

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carved work on a chair, representing leaves or flowers; but what is the meaning of giving feet to a chair representing those of a lion, or of an eagle? What do you think of teaspoons made to imitate the leaf of a tree? A leaf is of all things the least proper for a spoon. And does not there lie the same objection against a fabric for holding candles, composed of artificial branches and leaves, with artificial birds sitting upon them? I will not dissemble, that my purpose in these questions is to draw you by degrees into a critical correspondence. Would it be too much for me to hope for your assistance in the intended new edition of the *Elements*? I should be proud to have your name conjoined with mine in that work.

“It is needless to fatigue you with explaining what has prevented my intended visit to Denton-Hall at this time: several circumstances have made it impracticable. I do not despair of seeing you at London. But, at any rate, you are bound in gratitude to employ the first opportunity upon another visit to Blair-Drummond, considering the changes that are to be made, and the money to be laid out upon your account. If we once get you there again, you shall not so easily escape as at first. Your landlady remarked on your departure, “Mrs Montagu seems to be in a great hurry.” Perhaps not, said I; but I did not care to press her, as I know you are not fond of new faces.—“A most unlucky mistake,” replied she; “for I know not such an agreeable woman,”

"woman, or so comfortable a companion : I could pass my
"life with her."—And the same would be the taste of, Ma-
dam, your devoted servant ; I hope in time to merit the ap-
pellation of your faithful friend,

HENRY HOME."

Mrs MONTAGU to Lord KAMES.

"MY LORD, *Denton, November 4. 1766.*

"I never knew a wise and celebrated person who was
not afraid to write a letter to a trifling correspondent ; for
when such a man looks down from the summit of his wis-
dom, and the pinnacle of his reputation, upon so low and
minute an object as a common letter, his head begins to
turn, and his sight to grow unsteady. So, Sir, take the
pains and the penalties, with the painful pre-eminence of
your elevation ; whilst I, who am on a level with such
matters, enjoy the pleasure of writing without fear or wit,
and the honour of corresponding with one who writes with
both. Happily, whatever flows from the heart goes most
directly to the obtaining of that friendship you so kindly of-
fer, and I am so desirous to establish.

"I remember perfectly the walk your Lordship mentions,
and all the beauties of that sweet place. It is happy for a
person of your taste, to find in his morning's walk, the pas-
toral

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toral, the epic, and the tragic beauties. The gently murmuring river, the shady banks, the beautiful pastures, the noble Castle of Stirling, rising in the pride of impregnable strength, defying force and time; and the ruined castle of the Regent*, which brings to mind the *tale of other times*, the catastrophe of ambition, and the downfall of greatness, suggest the soft and tender, the sublime and the melancholy ideas, and exercise the various powers and affections of the soul. Where there is this happy assemblage of poetic and romantic beauties, so properly adapted to his genius, we will sit and read the charming poet, who sings of

Le Donne, i cavalieri, l'arme, gli amori,
Le cortesie, l'audaci imprese.

“ I approve greatly of your Lordship's scheme of making a *winter-garden*. We are apt to do in our gardens, as we do in our minds; to cultivate the gay ornaments of the summer season, and aim at having all those things which flourish by mild sunshine, and gracious dews; forgetful of the rude elements of human life, and regardless of the seasons of unfriendly and churlish weather, when sun-beams warm no more, and chilling hoar-frosts fall. Sage is the gardener who

* *Downe-Castle*, the seat of James, Earl of Murray, the bastard-brother of Mary, Queen of Scots; Regent of Scotland, by the deposition of his sister;— afterwards assassinated by Hamilton of Bothwell-haugh, in revenge of a personal injury.

who procures a friendly shelter of ever-greens to protect him from December storms, and cultivates the winter-plants that adorn and enliven the dreary season. He is but half a philosopher, who, when the gardens of Epicurus are out of bloom, cannot retire into the Stoic's walk; and he is too much one, who would rigidly prohibit the gay flowers and sweet aromatics of the summer, and sit always under the cypress-shade: So I expect to find the roses and carnations at Blair-Drummond in June, as well as the snow-drop and cyclamen in December. Your winter-garden will be a moral lesson, as well as a pleasant walk for your posterity, recommending to their cultivation, unfading merits and faithful friends*.

“ I am very glad there is going to be a new edition of the *Elements of Criticism*, as I hope the work will be enlarged. Your Lordship does me very unmerited honour, in wishing my name joined to yours in that work; it would be like setting the impression of my silver *thimble* beside the *broad-seal* of England.

“ I agree entirely with your Lordship, that in things of use, the ornamental part should be subordinate, and the propriety and fitness to its purpose should be apparent. The
feet

* Lord Kames inserted these observations with some alterations, in a note in the new edition of *Elements of Criticism*.

BOOK III.

feet of a chair should express steadiness and firmness. A claw, whether of lion or eagle, is absurd; as the business of it is not to snatch or tear, but to support. Foliages round the frame of a chair or table, are not improper, they adorn the form, without perverting it; and such ornaments are so natural, we may suppose, that in the ages of simplicity, in honour of extraordinary guests, or to add a gaiety to feasts, flowers and branches were put on them. We have fine Gothic buildings in this country, and we have imported Grecian and Roman architecture; but in regard to *les meubles*, we are still in a very barbarous state*. I think I could explain why we are so, if my letter was not already too long, to admit of tracing these things to their sources: so I shall only observe, that the old Goths loved punning, and their most polite descendants are addicted to *congetti*. The tea-leaf imitated in a tea-spoon, is most absurd; but in the infancy and decline of taste, the imagination sports with resemblances, relations and analogies; too weak to form a complete design, it pursues some hint given by the nature of the thing to be adorned. I do not know whether I express myself intelligibly, but I mean something, though I am puzzled to communicate that meaning: I may say, as a certain

* The taste for what is commonly called *Etruscan*, but is truly *Greek*, ornament, had not then been introduced by Sir William Hamilton's importation of ancient vases, or the publication of the magnificent works from the press of the King of Naples.

certain French author does, however, *Si je ne m'entends pas, je me devine* *.

CHAP. II.


" I am more than vain, I am proud of Mrs Drummond's partiality. I desire your Lordship to keep up my interest in that Lady. She has so perfectly gained my esteem, that I should be grieved and mortified to lose any share of hers which she ever honoured me with. I had the honour of a most polite and agreeable letter from her. I desire my most respectful compliments to her. I am rejoiced to find your Lordship thinks of being in London this winter. I hope Mrs Drummond and your son will be of the party.—I am, with great esteem, my Lord, &c. &c.

ELIZ. MONTAGU."

From

* The Lady expresses her meaning with great perspicuity. But even in an age of refined taste, an inventive fancy may sport itself capriciously without offence in works where show is combined with utility. Some of the Etruscan utensils, (as their lamps), are fantastical in the highest degree, both in their forms and decorations; and the taste is not to be condemned, if it gives innocent amusement. A silver cream-pot in the form of a cow, which receives its contents by an opening in the back; and discharges them at the mouth, is not the most convenient form for its office, nor has the device much consonance to nature; but if the utensil performs its purpose tolerably, and the workmanship is excellent, we do not admire it the less for the conceit.

VOL. II.

F

From Mrs MONTAGU to Lord KAMES.—Extract of a Letter, dated Denton, December 12. 1766.

———“ I see by the date of your Lordship's letter, you are got to Edinburgh, from whence I suppose you will sometimes make a trip to your winter-garden. Perhaps there is not any thing more delightful than escaping from the bustle of society to the quiet of solitude ; unless it be the returning to society, after having been long confined to solitude. If I was assured your Lordship would not draw an inference from it to my disadvantage, I would own to you, that the transitions from the town to the country, and from the country to the town, are inexpressibly delightful to me. Different powers of the mind are exercised in the different situations ; so pray do not entirely impute this taste in me to levity. I imagine a pedlar would be extremely pleased at first if he was made a king, and from measuring tape and counting needles, was exalted to balancing the interests of empires, and considering the arduous affairs of government ; till, finding how little his speculations improved the state of the world, and that his most earnest thoughts ended often in ineffectual schemes, he would wish to return to an employment in which he could realize his intentions, and find his capacity on a level with his business. This is just the case of every human creature who is not engaged in some profession or important situation. In the world we
carry

carry about the small wares of social life, are very busy, and a little useful. The inherent dignity of the soul makes it sometimes disdain these petty occupations, and love to retire into the proud state of meditation. There it enters into the operations of Omnipotence, and the views of Infinite Wisdom; looks with delight through the infinite gradations of beings, and with amazement round the boundless system of creation: it exults at feeling itself an intelligent spectator of such a majestic scene; and in the arrogance of its reasoning, and the pride of its reveries, wonders how it could ever condescend to the low commerce of ordinary life, and says to itself, it will for the future dream in state. But *Alma*, by the mother's side, a poor mechanic, satiated with the long idleness of a summer's holiday, again cries out for her shop and her tools, leaves to abstracted beings the life of meditation, and wisely says, her business lies chiefly where she can add to the comfort and happiness of her fellow-creatures. However, my Lord, do not imagine that I think less than you do, that a pleasing retirement may improve the virtue of your posterity, by drawing them sometimes from busy to contemplative life. In a sweet retirement, I imagine the mind keeps time to the music of the spheres; its movements are not affected by prejudices or bad examples, but keep even and true measure with reason, and its appointed duties. In the bustle of the world we are often impelled to what is wrong, diverted from what is right, and carried about in the whirl of fashion and predominant opinions.

F 2

“ I

BOOK III

" I am interested in every thing at Blair-Drummond: pray let know every vista that you open, and every shade that you cherish for meditation. About two months hence I shall think with greater rapture of your winter-garden: at present, to own the truth, I am longing for my pedlar's pack. I have been so long in retirement, that I shall go with great *gout* to every fair and market idleness and vanity shall open. I hope to set out for London in about ten days or a fortnight at farthest.

" Your Lordship does me great honour; but my name is not designed for immortality. I beg of you to present my most affectionate and respectful compliments to Mrs. Drummond. I shall hope to be honoured with her commands when I get to London, and trust that she will employ me in all her commissions; because no one will have so much pleasure in executing them.—With great esteem, I am, my Lord, &c. &c.

E. MONTAGU."

Lord Kames had introduced Dr Franklin to Mrs Montagu's acquaintance. The following letter alludes, among others, to that circumstance.

Mrs

Mrs MONTAGU to Lord KAMES.

“ MY LORD, *Hill-Street, February 11. 1767,*

“ From the consciousness and confidence of friendship, I delayed answering your last letter till this very moment; for I waited till I could find health and leisure together: the one rarely visits, and the other never abides with me. I am convinced, that we have been acquainted in a state of pre-existence; I do not know when, nor indeed where: whether we first met on the orb of this Earth, had a short coquetry in the planet Venus, or a sober platonic love in Saturn; but I am sure we did not first meet at Edinburgh in the year 1766; therefore, those doubts that would be pardonable in a new friendship cannot become us. Your Lordship may remember our souls did not stand like strangers at a distance, making formal obeisances: the first evening we supped together at our friend Dr Gregory’s, we took up our story, where it had perhaps ended some thousand years before the creation of this globe: if we gave it a prefatory compliment, it was only the customary form to the new edition of a work before published. I am extremely flattered; that, though invisible, I was one of your Christmas guests at Blair-Drummond. I often endeavoured to imagine how your cascades looked when they were fixed in icicles, your rivers turned to solid crystal, and Ben-Lomond’s brown sides were glittering with snow; but I had not the presumption

BOOK III.

tion to think I could imagine what such a society were saying, so that I was deprived of the best part of the pleasure of the party. I think your Lordship was unlucky that you did not stay in the country till the thaw: the torrents from the mountains, the deluged plains, the ice crackling, and rushing down the rivers, and the cascades breaking their crystal bands, must have been a fine sight, and what you and I should have been delighted to have seen together, though perhaps heretofore we were joint spectators of Deucalion's flood; and if Mr Whiston's computations be just, we may be present at the commencement of the Millennium, when the vain and the idle will melt away like the snow, the proud, hard-hearted and wicked, will rush like the ice down the tide of dissolution, and virtue and integrity stand fast as the mountains. However, in spite of all we have seen, or may see, I should have been very glad to have beheld the thaw in your majestic prospects. Our highest hills were a school-boy's snow-ball in respect of Ben-Lomond.

“ You will perhaps expect I should send you some of the politics of the times, from our great city; but I don't understand politics, and I cannot so much as read politicians. It have been used only to read right forward, and the Hebrew text and the politician's mind are to me unintelligible. Your Lordship may be assured I shall be very glad to be introduced to any person who has the honour and happiness of

of your esteem. I am not a stranger to the character of Dr Franklin, though not personally acquainted with him.

“The muses are the only virgins now that do not appear in public every day; but they are prodigiously coy. Mr Glover’s muse is a beautiful Greek, but as she does not speak in the vulgar tongue, she dares not come upon the stage; she only addresses herself to the learned in their closets. Voltaire sent a tragedy to Paris, which he said was composed in ten days. The players sent it back to him to correct. . . At threescore and ten, one should not expect his wit would outrun his judgment; but he seems to begin a second infancy in wit and philosophy; a dangerous thing to one who has such an antipathy to leading-strings.

“I beg my most respectful compliments to Mrs Drummond and Mr Home: assure Mrs Drummond that I have not forgot her commands; and I hope I shall acquit myself in such a manner as to the *épargne*, as to be trusted for other commissions. I have also seen her *girandoles*, which I like extremely; but I have proposed a little alteration at the top. If she would have any thing *en meubles* extremely beautiful, she must employ my friend Mr Adam here. He has made me a cieling and chimney-piece, and doors, which are pretty enough to make me a thousand enemies: Envy turns livid at the first glimpse of them. I beg of your Lordship to make my compliments to my friends at Edinburgh, and

BOOK III

and assure them I retain a grateful remembrance of their politeness to me there. I am, with great esteem, my Lord, &c. &c.

E. MONTAGU."

Lord KAMES to Mrs MONTAGU.

" *Edinburgh, March 6. 1767.*

" I love to converse with Mrs Montagu : I love to write to her : Sorry I am that the latter only is in my power. In gratifying my own inclination, however, I shall be so much upon my guard as to avoid persecution ; and the plan I propose to follow, is not to write merely from inclination, without having at the same time some good pretext. My pretext at present is to recommend to you a book lately published here, and which probably has reached the shop of Andrew Millar, entitled, *An Essay on the History of Civil Society*. This subject, not less beautiful than interesting, employs some vigour in writing, and much original thought. Besides tracing minutely the history of society from its dawn in the savage state to its meridian lustre of civilization, sciences and arts, it has a further aim, which is, to wean us from selfishness and luxury, the reigning characteristics at present of all commercial nations, and to restore the manly passions of heroism, generosity, and love of our species. The aim is noble ; but the disease, I doubt, is too far advanced to be cured

cured by any characters that can be formed with ink. The book will amuse you, and you will think yourself obliged to me for putting it into your hands. At the same time, I don't say it is without faults : but these I reserve as a pretext for another letter when you have perused the book. Let me presume to give you only one advice, which is to reserve the book till your hours of perfect health. It requires too much attention even for Mrs M. when in any degree indisposed. Your hints, though very slight, of want of health, alarm me. You ought to be immortal ; because there are some persons, rare indeed, who cannot be replaced ; but that soul of yours, active and vigorous, is enough to wear out any body, not to talk of a delicate female constitution.

“ Nothing would give me greater satisfaction than a prospect of many subjects for correspondence ; and that of recommending books may be both pleasant and profitable ; and I am certain it would give me double pleasure to peruse any book recommended by you. It is a great waste of time to read every book at random ; and both of us know the value of our time too well to be spendthrifts of it.—You have inflamed the curiosity of my spouse, by mentioning the taste of Mr Adam in ornamenting one of your rooms. You can make her happy in the description, and I know you love to make your friends happy. Yours, with zeal and affection,

HENRY HOME.”

Vol. II.

G

Mrs

*Mrs MONTAGU to Lord KAMES.**“ March the 24th 1767.*

“ I am vain that your Lordship thought me worthy of Mr Fergusson's work. I had indeed got it from Lord Shelburne, before it was to be sold at the booksellers, so had read it before I had your letter. The character of the author, and the subject of the book, made me very impatient for it. I approve extremely of Mr Fergusson in the preference he gives to the magnanimous virtues, above the effeminate and luxurious arts of modern life; and wish he could infuse into us some of that Spartan spirit he admires so justly. At the same time, if he learnt the practice of virtue at Sparta, it was at Athens he was taught to make it doctrine. A Lacedemonian might have said, when he swallowed his black broth, as Alexander did in his ambitious enterprize, What do I suffer that the Athenians may praise me! Had not the latter perpetuated its memory, the temperance of the former, like their broth, had diffused its salubrious effects only through a few individuals, and a few centuries. What had remained of Spartan patriotism for an example to other countries, and other ages, if the same system had prevailed all over Greece? It was happy for them that Xenophon and Plato were not their fellow-citizens; it was happy for the world they were not so. Now, is that state upon a perfectly right foundation where wisdom and virtue are mortal?

However,

However, as we Britons are in much more danger of becoming Sybarites than Lacedemonians, it is very meritorious in Mr Fergusson to endeavour to preserve the native fire of courage and magnanimity in the human breast ; for in *these piping times of peace*, like gunpowder at the conclusion of a war, being no longer necessary to combat our enemies, it is wasted in idle fire-works and childish festivity.—I cannot express to your Lordship the pleasure and delight with which I read this elegant work of Mr Fergusson ; but as my admiration can do him little honour, I will give you who are his friend the pleasure of knowing it is admired and approved by all persons of judgment in literature, or who have that nobler taste, the love of virtue.

“ Your Lordship is very good to feel any solicitude about my health. It is far from perfect, but is better than it used to be. I had for ten years the most terrible state of health imaginable ; it has been mending gradually and gently these ten years last past, and is now such as one inured to suffering and sickness thinks delightful, one unused to illness might think miserable. The constant cheerfulness of my spirits has put me on a level, in point of happiness, with the most healthy and robust, so that I think of my lot with thankfulness. I am, my Lord, &c. &c.

E. MONTAGU.”

Lord KAMES to Mrs MONTAGU.

“ Blair-Drummond, April 16. 1767:

“ MY DEAR MADAM,

*“ I have endeavoured to do Mr Fergusson a pleasure by your elegant epistle, which is upon the road to him with my compliments, and he will make it most hospitably welcome. I wish I had as good reason to be pleased ; but you behave to me like a buskin'd Queen acting a capital part in a capital play, without once admitting me behind the scenes into any degree of ease or familiarity. The Professor is the only subject ; not a word of my concerns ; not a word even of your own, (I suppose because they are mine likewise), your health, your amusements, the company you keep, the books you read, or whether you be as much regarded in your own country as you are here. I think I perceive you smiling ; and you have some reason : you have discovered the cloven foot, a rivalry between the two authors. I confess the fact ; but being too lazy to burn and begin again, I proceed in the same tone. When I had the happiness of seeing you in Scotland, I ventured one day to suggest to you a short performance of mine, an *Essay on the Principles of Morality*. But I suddenly dropt the subject, being afraid it was too abstruse and dry for my lively friend. Of late I have taken up a fond conceit, that no subject is above or beyond her comprehension, and therefore I renew my hint ; and I have*

at

at present an additional incitement, which is, that my friend F. if he has failed any where, is most deficient in that part of his work where he handles the Principles of Morality. My Essay was too small to be printed by itself *: it is prefixed to the second edition of a law-book, termed *Principles of Equity*, to be found at Millar's shop; but which you may borrow from any of your acquaintance learned in the law; for a fine Lady would blush to have a law-book make part of her library. I know not whether the principles of this Essay may turn the balance on my side; but in one way I hope always to deserve your favour, which is, by imitating you in every good and social principle, to the best of my power. Yours, &c.

HENRY HOME."

" P. S. The *epargne* is arrived, and it is charming. I never saw a piece of workmanship to which the term *elegant* can be more properly applied. Mrs Drummond is delighted with it.—Now that I have got your letter upon *ornaments*, I think I have a pretty good stock of materials for an episode upon that subject in the next edition of the *Elements*, in which I shall most impudently borrow from your Ladyship.

* The Essay on the *Principles of Morality*, which was prefixed to the second edition of *Principles of Equity*, was left out in the third and subsequent editions of that work, the author having republished it in a more complete form, in his *Sketches of the History of Man*.

ship.—“ But hark, the cock does crow me hence!” The coach is waiting.”

Mrs MONTAGU to Lord KAMES.

“ MY LORD,

Sandleford, May 9. 1767.

“ I am rejoiced to find I have pleased Mrs Drummond and your Lordship in the *epargne*; but you have disappointed me terribly about my notable letter on the subject of ornament. I was in hopes it would have given occasion to a paper-war between us. I imagined you would laugh at me, quarrel with me, rally me, confute me, and do every thing but what no disputant ever does with his antagonist, convince me; but instead of that, you are mighty silent, and mighty civil; and you put my letter quietly in your pocket; and very politely say, you may hereafter put some of my conjectures into your *Elements of Criticism*: But the muses forbid that my reveries, like poor maggots in amber, should there lie so conspicuously preserved! ***——Your Lordship never mentions Dr Gregory, or any of my Edinburgh friends. I hope they are all well. I often think of the agreeable society I enjoyed in Scotland, with great pleasure, and as great desire to return to it.——I will chide your Lordship for exposing my nonsense to Mr Fergusson. I don't remember what I said; but as I admired the work, I suppose my observations were at least very harmless I will

will get the book your Lordship mentions, when I go to London again. You tell me I am stately and reserved, like an actor performing a capital part in a capital play. Your Lordship is mistaken; I am like a puppet acting a foolish part in a foolish puppet-show. What does any one hear, or say, think or do, read or know, in a London life, worth communicating.*****——Lord Lyttelton desired me, when I last saw him, to beg of your Lordship, who is such a judicious and accurate critic in style, not to read the first edition of his History; as the second will be more correct, and he is ambitious of appearing in the best light to your Lordship. I don't understand all this delicacy. If I were to make a book, I should not care for all the critics that are, or were, or ever should be*. I like the play of *Every Man in his Humour*. Authors should be free to make blunders, and critics to expose them. If I had lands in Parnassus, I would not inclose them with wall, pale, sunk fence, or *chevaux de frise*. I would resolve to write a book this moment, if I thought you would write a criticism upon it, and then perhaps they might be bound up together; and then says I, See how we apples swim down the tide of time: however, it strikes eleven, and I wont begin my book to-night, nor swell this

* Mrs MONTAGU's *Essay on the Genius and Writings of Shakspeare*, was not then published: it did not appear till 1770. She was known however as the writer of some of the best dialogues, in Lord Lyttelton's *Dialogues of the Dead*, printed in 1762.

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this letter to a volume ; so I will only add my compliments to Mrs Drummond, and that I always am, with perfect regard, my Lord, &c. &c.

E. MONTAGU."

Lord KAMES to Mrs MONTAGU.

" Edinburgh, July 8. 1767.

" You treat me cruelly, my friend, in giving me a character among your London acquaintance, which I never can hope to support. What else should have led Lord Lyttelton to judge me such a profound critic of style? In short, to preserve my reputation, I must hide myself, and abandon, among others, one of my favourite projects, which was the passing some time with you at London, and studying you while acting your part in the great world.

" But now that I have given a little vent to my spleen, (occasioned probably by a cold I have somehow contracted), I find my heart a little lighter. I submit cheerfully to Mrs Montagu's superiority; and I am sensible, that the good she does me, far outweighs the ill. I go no farther for an example than this very morning. We are at present deciding the great *Douglas cause*; and it is expected, that, in a case of such importance, every Judge shall, along with his opinion, give at least a summary of his reasons. In bed this morning,

morning, having been feverish in the night, I felt myself weak, dispirited, and without strength or inclination to rise. Why should I kill myself for the sake of others, was my grovelling reflection? A certain friend, whose good opinion I most highly value, came across my thoughts. It immediately struck me, How will that person scorn me for such pusillanimity? I started up, got to the Court in time, delivered my opinion, and my reasons, more to my own satisfaction than usual; and thank God, I am still alive.——

“ 15th July ——

———“ I am indeed still alive, and now perfectly well, though weak; for, ever since the former date, I have been confined to bed with the illness I mentioned. By that means I have been forced to put off the principal, or rather the only purpose of my letter, which was to lay down measures for repaying the money you so kindly have advanced for my commissions. * * *———Though I shall always be proud of Mrs Montagu's favours, yet with my good will, the obligations I owe her should be of a rank above any that relate to money.——I am, &c. &c.

HENRY HOME.”

Mrs MONTAGU to Lord KAMES.

“ MY LORD, *Sandleford, July the 30. 1767.*

“ I am much concerned to hear that you have been so ill. The cause of the orphan, I dare say, would always animate you ; but as your life is valuable to many orphans, you must not hazard yourself too much.

“ After having convinced the world by many a volume, that you are a perfect master and judge of style, it is very pleasant that you should attribute an opinion of your being so to me. I think your Lordship will have a great deal of pleasure in reading Lord Lyttelton’s History. You will like to see a Gothic building by a Roman architect. The story is Gothic, but expressed with majesty, gravity and force, without any thing dark or rude, or perplexed and confused.

“ I suppose that as early as business will allow, your Lordship will retire to Blair-Drummond. There I order you to sit on my bench, and think of me, daily, till I come into Northumberland; and then you are to transfer yourself to Kames, from whence Mrs Drummond and your Lordship may easily make me a visit. My journey to the north is delayed a fortnight longer than I intended, by the marriage of a cousin of mine, who desires earnestly that I would attend her nuptials ; and the gentleman who is to marry her,

is

is very importunate with me to attend the ceremony ; as he is a great match for my cousin, I do not know how to refuse his request. The bride and bridegroom are to dine with me on the wedding-day in Hill Street, the 17th of August ; so I cannot set out till the 18th or 19th. I shall stay only a day or two in Yorkshire in my way. As your Lordship is in a great hurry to pay your money, be pleased to order it to be paid to Sir George Colebrooke in Threadneedle Street, and into Mrs Montagu's account ; Sir George honours my bills when I draw upon him ; but as he has never received any money of mine, he knows nothing of me, but that I can spend it. I had the pleasure of seeing Lady Elliott-Murray, the night before she left London ; I told her I was very jealous of her, and desired she would not coquette with your Lordship ; but I suppose she will not be so generous to an absent rival. I beg my most respectful compliments to Mrs Drummond ; and am, with great regard, my Lord, &c. &c. &c.

ELIZ. MONTAGU."

CHAPTER III.

Lord Kames's Pamphlet on the Linen-manufacture in Scotland:—He prompts the great Landholders to encourage Manufactures and Industry.—Project of a Canal between the Forth and Clyde.—Other undertakings of the same kind.—Lord Kames publishes Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session.—His opinion on the Rupture with America.—Correspondence with Dr Franklin renewed.—Letter from him to Lord Kames, on American affairs.—From the same, on Agricultural and Economical topics.

BOOK III.
 Lord Kames'
 Pamphlet on
 the Linen
 Manufacture
 in Scotland.

IN the end of the year 1765, LORD KAMES published a small pamphlet on the progress of the Flax-husbandry in Scotland, with the patriotic design of stimulating his countrymen to continue their exertions in a most valuable branch of national industry. The linen-manufacture he shews to be in a progressive state of improvement, from the time of the institution of the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Arts, in the year 1727, and to have increased five-fold within the preceding eighteen years. This improvement he attributes to the judicious measures adopted by that Board,
 in

in the bestowing of premiums for the raising of flax, the introduction of easy and cheap machinery for its manufacture, and the procuring a favourable market for the commodity, when completely wrought up. It gives equal pleasure to observe, that this important manufacture has, from the period of which we now speak, been rapidly advancing, so as to promise, in a very short time, to double its amount in the year 1765*. A principal object of this pamphlet was to shew the expediency of encouraging the culture of flax of the native growth of the country. At the time when the pamphlet

* The progress of the linen-manufacture in Scotland, from the year 1727 to the present time, may be ascertained from the following table, exhibiting the quantities of linen annually stamped for the duty to Government, and the value of those quantities. The account is taken at the interval of ten years from each period for the first sixty years, and at shorter intervals for the succeeding years.

<i>Anno.</i>		<i>Yards.</i>		<i>Value.</i>
1728	—	2,183,978	—	L. 103,212 9 3
1738	—	4,666,011 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	185,026 11 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1748	—	7,353,098 $\frac{3}{4}$	—	293,864 12 11 $\frac{3}{4}$
1758	—	10,624,435 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	424,141 10 7 $\frac{1}{4}$
1768	—	11,795,437	—	599,669 4 2
1778	—	13,264,410 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	592,023 3 4 $\frac{1}{4}$
1788	—	25,506,310 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	854,900 16 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
1792	—	21,065,386	—	872,543 14 2 $\frac{1}{4}$
1796	—	23,102,404 $\frac{1}{4}$	—	906,202 8 4
1802	—	23,803,255	—	915,103 17 9 $\frac{1}{4}$
1805	—	19,413,057	—	936,453 6 8 $\frac{1}{4}$

BOOK III.

pamphlet was written, there was an annual importation of foreign flax to the amount of £.110,000 Sterling, to supply our home manufactures. The yearly saving of so large a sum is not the only benefit to be derived from raising the commodity on our own fields. We pay to foreigners much more than the real value of the material. Besides, they may raise its price at their pleasure, or deprive us of it altogether; and thus throw idle some thousands of industrious manufacturers and artisans. Experience has shewn likewise, that the commodity itself, when of home growth, is of a superior quality to the foreign; and experience shews also, that no crop is more valuable to the farmer, or yields a quicker return for the labour and cost of cultivation*.

He prompts
the great
Landholders
to encourage
Manufac-
tures and In-
dustry.

But in his laudable endeavours for the promotion of manufactures, Lord Kames did not confine himself to general statements of their utility, or arguments to that effect addressed to the public at large. Availing himself of a most extensive acquaintance with the principal landholders in Scotland, and of the friendships he had formed with many of the chief nobility, whose estates supported an immense population, he endeavoured by every persuasive to stimulate their exertions in diffusing the spirit of industry among their cottagers and dependants. — He recommended to them the introduction

* The pamphlet on the Progress of the Flax-husbandry of Scotland, was reprinted in the *Scots Magazine* for January 1766.

introduction of such species of domestic manufactures, suited to both sexes, as, without any considerable expence or outlay on the part of the proprietors, (the main obstacle to such exertions), would amend the condition and multiply the comforts of their dependants, and thus lay the solid foundation of an increase of their own revenues. Nor were these endeavours without success. Amidst his extensive correspondence, the letters yet remaining from the venerable Charles, Duke of Queensberry, from Thomas, 8th Earl of Kinnoul, and John, 3d Earl of Braidalbane, bear the most honourable testimony, alike to the disinterested zeal which counselled, and the liberal and patriotic spirit which adopted those beneficial plans and improvements.

The following letter of Lord Kames to a favourite correspondent, who possessed, in a very high degree, his esteem and affection, is a proof, that even in those moments, usually the least devoted to topics of a serious nature, those beneficent considerations were perpetually present to his mind.

To the Dutchess of GORDON.

“ August 1770.

“ As I never incline to visit my favourite pupil, or to write to her, but when I am at ease and in good spirits, which has not been the case for this last fortnight, worn out as I am
with

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with the business of the Court, I delayed to acknowledge her last kind letter, till I should be restored to my spirits in the country, by the wood-nymphs, the water-nymphs, and all the train of the smiling rural deities.

“ Your Grace could not do me a greater favour than in communicating the little family anecdote about Lady C., than which nothing can shew a more charming disposition. Dissocial passions are more painful to ourselves than to those who are the objects of them. Selfish passions are disagreeable to others, and very little pleasant to ourselves : but as for the generous and benevolent affections, if they make others happy, they double that blessing upon ourselves. There is no other part of our nature that advances us so near the Author of all good. Cherish, my dear Lady, that disposition in your daughter, because it is highly amiable ; but double your diligence to cherish it in your son, who, I hope, will one day have it in his power to do much good, and to find his own chief happiness in making multitudes happy around him.

“ The Duke of G. may justly be reckoned the greatest subject in Britain ; not from the extent of his rent-roll, but from a much more valuable property, the number of people whom Providence has put under his government and protection. God forbid the Duke should imbibe the sentiments of too many of his elevated rank, that these people
are

are merely beasts of burden, and that it is allowable to squeeze out of them all that can be got. In point of morality, I consider, that the people upon our estates are trusted by Providence to our care, and that we are accountable for our management of them, to the Great God, their Creator, as well as ours. But observe and admire the benevolence of Providence. What else does it require of us, but to introduce industry among our people, the sure way to make them virtuous and happy, and the way not less sure of improving our estates, and increasing our revenues?

“ Now, my dear pupil, I insist upon this topic with the more satisfaction, that I figure your Grace taking an active part in this useful work, and going hand in hand with your husband; if, indeed, it be not better that each of you should take a separate department. I will explain what part I allot to your Grace, after a short preface.

“ Travelling through the counties of Aberdeen and Banff, with any sort of equipage, it is pleasant to see the young creatures turning out every where from their little cottages, full of curiosity, but not less full of industry; for every one of them is employed; and in knitting stockings, they lose not all the while a single motion of their fingers. This sight I have never beheld without delight. Now, mark what I am going to say. There is indeed the same curiosity to be observed upon your banks of the Spey, and through the county

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of Moray ; but alas ! the industry is wanting ; for the young people go about there perfectly idle.—I fear you will think I am growing a little tedious this evening ; for I wish to prolong conversation with your Grace : But now I come to the point.—The part I allot for the Dutchess of Gordon, is to train the young creatures about her to industry ; and she will execute it with self-satisfaction and success ; for in tender years the strongest impressions are made, and once giving children a habit of industry, it will last with them for life. What I would therefore propose as her first essay, is to introduce the knitting of stockings among the young folk of both sexes ; which will be easily done, as that art is so far advanced in her neighbourhood.

“ If your Grace relishes this proposal, signify it only to your old Mentor ; and it shall be his business not only to lay down a plan for carrying it into effect, but to interest our Trustees for the Manufactures, who will most cordially second your operations. In the mean time, you may order a fit person to be secured for teaching the children to spin and to knit ; and the only thing that will be expected from your Grace, besides your countenance, (which is all in all), is to encourage the children to exert themselves, by some small premiums to those who are the most deserving.

“ So much for serious matters ; and now to a lighter theme, if my paper leaves room for it. From fifty years experience,

perience, I can vouch, that the pleasantest companions for conversation are those who pass some time in their closets, in reading and reflecting. Will you give me authority to purchase for you, from time to time, a few books of taste and useful knowledge, which will agreeably fill up your hours of leisure? Does the Duke give his commissions to any particular bookseller in Edinburgh? In this, and in every capacity, command your real friend and faithful servant,

HENRY HOME."

It was with a sincere pleasure that the author of these excellent advices saw that they were not thrown away upon his fair and noble pupil, whose generous mind found its highest delight in increasing the happiness, and extending the comforts, of all within the sphere of her active benevolence. In a letter to her Grace of the 27th June 1777, he thus warmly expresses himself: "I thank God that my best hopes are realized. Your activity, now exerted on the advancement of agriculture and manufactures in your extensive domains, will be a constant fund of happiness to yourself, and a signal blessing to all your dependants. Go on, and prosper, my dear Lady: no good that ever happened to myself, gives me more heart-felt satisfaction."

Among those plans of national improvement in which Lord Kames, as a Member of the Board of Trustees for the

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Encouragement

Project of
a Canal be-
tween the
Forth and
Clyde.

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Encouragement of Arts, took a most active concern, was that great and useful project of a *navigable Canal between the rivers Forth and Clyde*. The obvious advantages to the national commerce from such a communication, joining the Atlantic with the British Sea, had directed the public attention to this measure, at different periods of time. It is said to have been originally suggested by Charles II., and abandoned only from the want of money sufficient for its execution. The project was resumed in 1722, and dropt probably from the same cause. At length, in the years 1762 and 1763, it was taken up by the Board of Trustees in Scotland, on the motion of Mr Baron Mure ; and being warmly patronized by Lord Kames, Mr Commissioner Clerk, and others of its leading members, Mr Smeaton, the engineer, was employed to make a survey, with plans and estimates of the work, on various scales of dimension with respect to depth and breadth. Mr Smeaton's Reports, approved of by the Board, and by the Convention of the Royal Boroughs of Scotland, were jointly recommended by them to the consideration of his Majesty ; and, under the sanction of the King's approbation, and the authority of Parliament, the work was begun in 1768, on a scale of fifty-six feet in breadth, and seven in depth ; admitting the passage of vessels of 70 or 80 tons burden. It has within these few years been happily completed. The expences were defrayed by the subscriptions of individuals, who are to be reimbursed by the tonnage-duties : and Government itself is a subscriber

ber to the amount of £.50,000, of which the correspondent dividends or profits do not return into the public Exchequer; but are, with a most liberal spirit, directed to be applied to the further improvement of the country, in the making of roads and bridges in the Highlands of Scotland. The total expences of this great undertaking, amount to above £.300,000 Sterling; a sum which, large as it is, bears no proportion to the certain and permanent benefits which the national commerce must derive from it.

A first successful experiment is of infinite consequence in promoting the spirit of improvement. Various other plans of inland navigation, upon a smaller scale, but of great benefit, both local and general, have been carried into execution of late years in Scotland; and even at the present time, when an unexampled expenditure has been necessary for the support of the most eventful contest in which Britain ever was engaged, the *Caledonian Canal*, carried on at the charges of the State, and at a probable expence of not much less than half a million, is an illustrious proof, both of the extent of the national resources, and of that patriotic energy which directs the employment of the public revenue in executing plans which tend ultimately to the improvement and increase of those resources, and strengthen the basis of the national prosperity.

Other undertakings of the same kind.

In.

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Lord Kames
publishes
Remarkable
Decisions of
the Court of
Session.

In the year 1766, Lord Kames published, in a folio volume, *Remarkable Decisions* of the Court of Session, from 1730 to 1752. The Reports contained in this volume relate to those more remarkable causes which had occurred in the course of his own practice while at the Bar. "This compilation," (he observes in his Preface), "is the performance of an Advocate, who, having been employed as counsel in every one of the cases contained in the Collection, had the fairest opportunity of being well acquainted with the *res gesta*. To vouch the accuracy of the facts, the session-papers are appealed to, which are deposited in the Advocates Library: And as to the arguments, which were borrowed from the Bench not less frequently than from the Bar, every reader will judge for himself, whether they be properly adapted to the facts stated." The volume contains 130 cases, in all of which the *ratio decidendi* is some important principle of law, and of which, consequently, the decision may be of use as a precedent in similar questions. When it is considered how small a proportion such cases bear to the ordinary questions in a court of law, we may hence form some estimate of the extensive employment of the barrister whose practice could afford such a selection. These Reports afford the strongest evidence of the great ability and legal knowledge of their compiler; but it has been remarked, and with justice, that the *patria manus* is very observable, and that the author's own argument is generally stated with greater amplitude, and is more strenuously enforced

forced than that which opposes his side of the question. Allowing for this very natural bias, the composition is useful in practice, and affords a model of clear and perspicuous brevity of statement, which touches only the important points of a cause, and rejects all that is superfluous in the detail or argument.

The attention of the public was at this time deeply engaged with those unfortunate differences between Great Britain and her American Colonies, which terminated in the final separation of the latter from the mother-country. The opinion of Lord Kames on the abstract question which was the ground of those differences, "Whether Great Britain had a right to tax the Colonies, by an act of her legislative body, in which they had no representatives," is known from what he has written on that topic, in the second section of his *Sketch on the subject of Finances*. He there combats the doctrine delivered by Mr Locke, in his *Essay on Government*, "That the legislative power of the State can impose no tax, without the consent of the majority of the people, expressed either by themselves or by their representatives;" and after shewing, that the number of those in Great Britain actually represented, by having a vote in the choice of the Members of Parliament, does not amount to a hundredth part of the community, he places the right of taxation on the solid basis which Locke himself has suggested,

His opinion
on the rup-
ture with
America.

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ed, though he has inadvertently laid no weight on it, namely, That every one who enjoys his share of protection, should pay, proportionally to his estate, for the support of that Government which protects him. Such being his opinion on the abstract question, he applies it, in the following words, to the case of the Colonies :

“ Many writers, misled by the respectable authority of
 “ Locke, boldly maintain, that a British Parliament cannot
 “ legally tax the American Colonies, who are not represent-
 “ ed in Parliament. This proposition, which has drawn the
 “ attention of the public of late years, has led me to be
 “ more explicit on the power of imposing taxes, than other-
 “ wise would be necessary. Those who favour the indepen-
 “ dence of our colonies urge, “ That a man ought to have
 “ the disposal of what he acquires by honest industry, sub-
 “ ject to no controul : whence the necessity of a Parliament
 “ for imposing taxes, where every individual is either per-
 “ sonally present, or by a representative of his own election.
 “ The aid accordingly given to a British Sovereign, is not a
 “ tribute, but a free and voluntary gift.” What is said
 “ above, will bring the dispute within a narrow compass.
 “ If our colonists be British subjects, which hitherto has not
 “ been controverted, they are subjected to the British Legis-
 “ lature in every article of government ; and as from the
 “ beginning they have been protected by Britain, they
 “ ought,

" ought, like other subjects, to pay for that protection*.
 " There never was a time less favourable to their claim of
 " freedom from taxes, than the close of the late war with
 " France. Had not Britain seasonably interposed, they
 " would have been swallowed up by France, and become
 " slaves to despotism.—If a legal power to impose taxes
 " without consent of the people, did necessarily imply a le-
 " gal power to impose taxes at pleasure, and without limi-
 " tation, Locke's argument would be invincible, in a free
 " country at least. A power to impose taxes at pleasure,
 " would indeed be an invasion of the fundamental law of
 " property ; because, under pretext of taxing, it would sub-
 " ject every man's property to the arbitrary will of the So-
 " vereign. But the argument has no weight where the So-
 " vereign's power is limited. The reciprocal duties between
 " Sovereign and subject imply, that the people ought to
 " contribute what sums are necessary for the support of
 " government, and that the Sovereign ought not to demand
 " more. It is true, that there is no regular check against
 " him, when he transgresses his duty in this particular : but
 " there is an effectual check in the nature of every go-
 " vernment that is not legally despotic, viz. a general con-
 " cert among all ranks, to vindicate their liberty against a
 " course of violence and oppression ; and multiplied acts of
 VOL. II. K " that

* See Dr Tucker's notions on this subject, in his letter to Lord Kames, dated 16th June 1782, in NO. 1. of the Appendix to this Volume.

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“ that kind have more than once brought about such a con-
“ cert.”

Correspon-
dence with
Dr Franklin
renewed.

But if such were the sentiments of Lord Kames on the question of right between Britain and her colonies, it appears, that, on viewing the matter in the light of expediency, he had very early formed an opinion, that, in the relative situation of the two countries, and looking to the probable chance of increasing animosities, and matters being driven to extremity, either by the erring policy or factious views of some of the leaders in both, it would be a wise measure in the British Government to wave the question of strict right, and to consent freely to a consolidating union with America, by giving that country a full representation in Parliament. On this subject he had written to Dr Franklin as early as the end of the year 1765, at the time when the first intelligence arrived in this country of the disorders occasioned by the attempts to carry the stamp-act into execution ; and he had written a second letter to him on the same subject, in the beginning of 1767. Dr Franklin's answer to these letters is extremely interesting, and affords a striking specimen of the profound sagacity and foresight of that extraordinary man.

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To Lord KAMES.

“ MY DEAR LORD, *London, April 11. 1767.*

“ I received your obliging favour of January the 19th. You have kindly relieved me from the pain I had long been under. You are goodness itself. I ought long since to have answered yours of December 25. 1765. I never received a letter that contained sentiments more suitable to my own. It found me under much agitation of mind on the very important subject it treated. It fortified me greatly in the judgment I was inclined to form (though contrary to the general vogue) on the then delicate and critical situation of affairs between Britain and her Colonies, and on that weighty point, their *Union*. You guessed aright in supposing that I would not be a *mute in that play*. I was extremely busy, attending Members of both Houses, informing, explaining, consulting, disputing, in a continual hurry from morning to night, till the affair was happily ended. During the course of it, being called before the House of Commons, I spoke my mind pretty freely. Inclosed I send you the imperfect account that was taken of that examination : You will there see how entirely we agree, except in a point of fact, of which you could not but be misinformed ; the papers at that time being full of mistaken assertions, that the Colonies had been the cause of the war, and had ungratefully refused to bear any part of the expence of it. I send it you now, because

Letter from
him to Lord
Kames on
American
affairs.

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I apprehend some late incidents are likely to revive the contest between the two countries. I fear it will be a mischievous one. It becomes a matter of great importance that clear ideas should be formed on solid principles, both in Britain and America, of the true political relation between them, and the mutual duties belonging to that relation. Till this is done, they will be often jarring. I know none whose knowledge, sagacity and impartiality, qualify him so thoroughly for such a service, as yours do you. I wish therefore you would consider it. You may thereby be the happy instrument of great good to the nation, and of preventing much mischief and bloodshed. I am fully persuaded with you, that a *Consolidating Union*, by a fair and equal representation of all the parts of this empire in Parliament, is the only firm basis on which its political grandeur and prosperity can be founded. Ireland once wished it, but now rejects it. The time has been when the Colonies might have been pleased with it: They are now *indifferent* about it; and if it is much longer delayed, they too will *refuse* it. But the pride of this people cannot bear the thought of it, and therefore it will be delayed. Every man in England seems to consider himself as a piece of a sovereign over America; seems to jostle himself into the throne with the King, and talks of *our subjects in the Colonies*. The Parliament cannot well and wisely make laws suited to the Colonies, without being properly and truly informed of their circumstances, abilities, temper, &c. This it cannot be, without representatives from

from thence: and yet it is fond of this power, and averse to the only means of acquiring the necessary knowledge for exercising it; which is, desiring to be *omnipotent*, without being *omniscient*.

“ I have mentioned that the contest is like to be revived. It is on this occasion. In the same session with the stamp-act, an act was passed to regulate the quartering of soldiers in America. When the bill was first brought in, it contained a clause, empowering the officers to quarter their soldiers in private houses: this we warmly opposed, and got it omitted. The bill passed, however, with a clause, that empty houses, barns, &c. should be hired for them, and that the respective provinces where they were should pay the expence, and furnish firing, bedding, drink, and some other articles to the soldiers *gratis*. There is no way for any province to do this, but by the Assembly's making a law to raise the money. Pennsylvanian Assembly has made such a law: New-York Assembly has refused to do it: and now all the talk here is of sending a force to compel them.

“ The reasons given by the Assembly to the Governor, for the refusal, are, That they understand the act to mean the furnishing such things to soldiers, only while on their march through the country, and not to great bodies of soldiers, to be fixt, as at present, in the province; the burthen in the latter case being greater than the inhabitants can bear: That
it

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it would put it in the power of the Captain-General to oppress the province at pleasure, &c. But there is supposed to be another reason at bottom, which they intimate, though they do not plainly express it; to wit, that it is of the nature of an *internal tax* laid on them by Parliament, which has no right so to do. Their refusal is here called *Rebellion*, and punishment is thought of.

“ Now, waving that point of right, and supposing the Legislatures in America subordinate to the Legislature of Great Britain, one might conceive, I think, a power in the superior Legislature to forbid the inferior Legislatures making particular laws; but to enjoin it to make a particular law contrary to its own judgment, seems improper; an Assembly or Parliament not being an *executive* officer of Government, whose duty it is, in law-making, to obey orders, but a *deliberative* body, who are to consider what comes before them, its propriety, practicability, or possibility, and to determine accordingly: The very nature of a Parliament seems to be destroyed, by supposing it may be bound, and compelled by a law of a superior Parliament, to make a law contrary to its own judgment.

“ Indeed, the act of Parliament in question has not, as in other acts, when a duty is enjoined, directed a penalty on neglect or refusal, and a mode of recovering that penalty. It seems, therefore, to the people in America as a mere requisition,

quisition, which they are at liberty to comply with or not, as it may suit or not suit the different circumstances of different provinces. Pennsylvania has therefore voluntarily complied. New-York, as I said before, has refused. The Ministry that made the act, and all their adherents, call out for vengeance. The present Ministry are perplexed, and the measures they will finally take on the occasion, are yet unknown. But sure I am, that if *Force* is used, great mischief will ensue; the affections of the people of America to this country will be alienated; your commerce will be diminished; and a total separation of interests be the final consequence.

“ It is a common, but mistaken notion here, that the Colonies were planted at the expence of Parliament, and that therefore the Parliament has a right to tax them, &c. The truth is, they were planted at the expence of private adventurers, who went over there to settle, with leave of the King, given by charter. On receiving this leave, and these charters, the adventurers voluntarily engaged to remain the King's subjects, though in a foreign country; a country which had not been conquered by either King or Parliament, but was possessed by a free people. When our planters arrived, they purchased the lands of the natives, without putting King or Parliament to any expence. Parliament had no hand in their settlement, was never so much as consulted about their constitution, and took no kind of notice of them, till many years after they were established.

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I except only the two modern Colonies, or rather attempts to make Colonies, (for they succeed but poorly, and as yet hardly deserve the name of Colonies), I mean Georgia and Nova-Scotia, which have been hitherto little better than Parliamentary jobs. Thus all the Colonies acknowledge the King as their Sovereign; his Governors there represent his person: Laws are made by their Assemblies or little Parliaments, with the Governor's assent, subject still to the King's pleasure to confirm or annul them: Suits arising in the Colonies, and differences between Colony and Colony, are determined by the King in Council: In this view, they seem so many separate little states, subject to the same Prince. The *sovereignty of the King* is therefore easily understood. But nothing is more common here than to talk of the *sovereignty of PARLIAMENT*, and the *sovereignty of THIS NATION* over the Colonies; a kind of sovereignty, the idea of which is not so clear, nor does it clearly appear on what foundation it is established. On the other hand, it seems necessary for the common good of the empire, that a power be lodged somewhere to regulate its general commerce: this can be placed no where so properly as in the Parliament of Great Britain; and therefore, though that power has in some instances been executed with great partiality to Britain, and prejudice to the Colonies, they have nevertheless always submitted to it. Custom-houses are established in all of them, by virtue of laws made here, and the duties constantly paid, except by a few smugglers, such as are here and in all countries ;

tries; but internal taxes laid on them by Parliament, are still, and ever will be objected to, for the reasons that you will see in the mentioned Examination.

“ Upon the whole, I have lived so great a part of my life in Britain*, and have formed so many friendships in it, that I love it, and sincerely wish its prosperity; and therefore wish to see that Union, on which alone I think it can be secured and established. As to America, the advantages of such an union to her are not so apparent. She may suffer at present under the arbitrary power of this country; she may suffer for a while in a separation from it; but these are temporary evils that she will outgrow. Scotland and Ireland are differently circumstanced. Confined by the sea, they can scarcely increase in numbers, wealth and strength, so as to overbalance England. But America, an immense territory, favoured by Nature with all advantages of climate, soil, great navigable rivers, and lakes, &c. must become a great country, populous and mighty; and will, in a less time than is generally conceived, be able to shake off any shackles that may be imposed on her, and perhaps place them

* Dr FRANKLIN was born at Boston in New England in 1706. His father was of a race of yeomanry who had lived for above 300 years at the village of Eaton in Northamptonshire. His mother was a daughter of Peter Folger, one of the first Colonists of New England, of whom Cotton Mather makes honourable mention in his *Ecclesiastical History* of that province.

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them on the imposers. In the mean time, every act of oppression will sour their tempers, lessen greatly, if not annihilate the profits of your commerce with them, and hasten their final revolt; for the seeds of liberty are universally sown there, and nothing can eradicate them. And yet, there remains among that people, so much respect, veneration and affection for Britain, that if cultivated prudently, with kind usage, and tenderness for their privileges, they might be easily governed still for ages, without force, or any considerable expence. But I do not see here a sufficient quantity of the wisdom that is necessary to produce such a conduct, and I lament the want of it.

“ I borrowed at Millar’s the new edition of your *Principles of Equity*, and have read with great pleasure the preliminary discourse on the Principles of Morality. I have never before met with any thing so satisfactory on the subject. While reading it, I made a few remarks as I went along. They are not of much importance, but I send you the paper.

“ I know the Lady you mention *; having, when in England before, met with her once or twice at Lord Bath’s. I remember I then entertained the same opinion of her that
you

* Mrs Montagu.

you express. On the strength of your kind recommendation, I purpose soon to wait on her.

CHAP. III.

“ This is unexpectedly grown a long letter. The visit to Scotland, and the *Art of Virtue**, we will talk of hereafter. It is now time to say, that I am, with increasing esteem and affection, my dear friend, yours ever,

B. FRANKLIN.”

This excellent letter, as appears by a subsequent one from the same hand, was in all probability intercepted, as it was not received by Lord Kames. Dr Franklin, however, having preserved a copy, transmitted it two years afterwards to his correspondent. The opinions it conveyed, were thus probably well known to the persons at the head of Administration. It had been happy they had paid them that attention which the wisdom of the counsels they contained deserved.

As the letter which follows, is the last of the correspondence between Lord Kames and Dr Franklin which has been preserved, I shall here insert it, although it has no reference to the subject of the preceding. Lord Kames was at that time keenly engaged in agricultural reseaches, and in

From the same, on Agricultural and Economical topics.

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* See *suprà*, vol. i. p. 269.

some of those economical and political speculations which he was preparing to lay before the public.

Dr FRANKLIN to Lord KAMES.

“ London, February 21. 1769.

“ MY DEAR FRIEND,

“ I received your excellent paper on the preferable use of oxen in agriculture, and have put it in the way of being communicated to the public here. I have observed in America, that the farmers are more thriving in those parts of the country where cattle are used, than in those where the labour is done by horses. The latter are said to require twice the quantity of land to maintain them; and after all, are not good to eat,—at least we don't think them so. Here is a waste of land that might afford subsistence for so many of the human species. Perhaps it was for this reason, that the Hebrew Lawgiver, having promised that the children of Israel should be as numerous as the sands of the sea, not only took care to secure the health of individuals, by regulating their diet, that they might be fitter for producing children, but also forbid their using horses, as those animals would lessen the quantity of subsistence for men. Thus we find, that when they took any horses from their enemies, they destroyed them;—and in the Commandments, where the labour of the ox and ass is mentioned, and forbidden on the Sabbath,

Sabbath, there is no mention of the horse, probably because they were to have none. And by the great armies suddenly raised in that small territory they inhabited, it appears to have been very full of people*.

“ Food is *always* necessary to *all*; and much the greatest part of the labour of mankind is employed in raising provisions for the mouth. Is not this kind of labour, then, the fittest to be the standard by which to measure the values of all other labour, and consequently of all other things whose value depends on the labour of making or procuring them? May not even gold and silver be thus valued? If the labour of the farmer in producing a bushel of wheat be equal to the labour of the miner in producing an ounce of silver, will not the bushel of wheat just measure the value of the ounce of silver? The miner must eat; the farmer indeed can live without the ounce of silver, and so perhaps will have some advantage in settling the price. But these discussions I leave to you, as being more able to manage them. Only,

I

* There is not in the Jewish law any express prohibition against the use of horses: it is only enjoined, that the Kings should not multiply the breed, or carry on trade with Egypt for the purchase of horses, *Deut.* xvii. 16. Solomon was the first of the Kings of Judah who disregarded this ordinance. He had 40,000 stalls of horses, which he brought out of Egypt, 1 *Kings* iv. 26., and *Ibid.* x. 28. From his time downwards, horses were in constant use in the Jewish armies. It is true, that the country, from its rocky surface and unfertile soil, was extremely unfit for the maintenance of those animals.

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I will send you a little scrap I wrote some time since on the laws prohibiting foreign commodities.

“ I congratulate you on your election as President of your Edinburgh Society *. I think I formerly took notice to you in conversation, that I thought there had been some similarity in our fortunes, and the circumstances of our lives. This is a fresh instance ; for, by letters just received, I find that I was about the same time chosen President of our American Philosophical Society, established at Philadelphia †.

“ I

* Of the Edinburgh Philosophical Society, I have already made mention in vol. i. p. 107. and in the corresponding note. How much the institution was indebted to the vigour of mind and spirit of its President, is testified by the following notice, taken from the Introduction to the first volume of the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, published in 1788 : “ The Philosophical Society, though its meetings were not altogether discontinued, appears to have languished for some time, till, from the uncommon zeal and distinguished abilities of Lord Kames, then elected President of the institution, its business was conducted with renewed ardour and success.”—*Trans. of the R. S. of Edin.* vol. i. p. 7. It appears from the minutes of the Society, that Lord Kames continued to attend and preside at its meetings, when at the age of 85, and till within a few months of his death.

† The American Philosophical Society was instituted in 1769, and was formed by the union of two Societies which had formerly subsisted at Philadelphia,

“ I have sent by sea, to the care of Mr Alexander, a little box, containing a few copies of the late edition of my books, for my friends in Scotland. One is directed for you, and one for your Society, which I beg that you and they would accept as a small mark of my respect.—With the sincerest esteem and regard, I am, my dear friend, yours most affectionately,

B. FRANKLIN.

“ P. S.—I am sorry my letter of 1767, concerning the American dispute, miscarried. I now send you a copy of it from my book. The Examination mentioned in it you have probably seen. Things daily wear a worse aspect, and tend more and more to a breach and final separation.”

CHAP.

delphia, whose views and objects were of a similar nature. Its members, which are numerous, are classed into the following committees :

- | | | |
|-----|---|--|
| For | { | 1. Geography, Mathematics, Natural Philosophy and Astronomy. |
| | | 2. Medicine and Anatomy. |
| | | 3. Natural History and Chemistry. |
| | | 4. Trade and Commerce. |
| | | 5. Mechanics and Architecture. |
| | | 6. Husbandry, and American improvements. |

And, several volumes have been published of the Transactions of this American Society, in which are many Papers by Dr Franklin.

 CHAPTER IV.

Lord Kames collects materials for a History of Man.—His investigation concerning the Poems of Ossian.—Writes to Mrs Montagu on that subject.—Her opinion of Ossian's Poems.—Result of the Inquiry into the authenticity of those Poems.—Prosecution of the Author's Researches relative to the History of Man.

BOOK III.

Lord Kames
collects ma-
terials for a
History of
Man.

LORD KAMES was now assiduously engaged, at every moment of his leisure hours, in the composition of a great work, which, at his advanced age, he seems to have intended as the conclusion of his literary labours. He had for many years past been employed in collecting materials for a *History of Man*, a work which, he says, “in the vigour of his life, he “did not think too bold an undertaking for a single hand.” We shall afterwards see, that he became sensible, that the design was too vast, and the talents it required too multifarious, for leaving any hope of its being executed by him with suitable skill and ability, in the amplitude which the subject required; and therefore that he wisely determined to confine his plan within narrower limits.

In

In the course of collecting and methodizing his materials for this intended work, he sought information from every quarter whence it was likely to be furnished. The first branch of his subject leading him to trace the progress of Man in the rudest periods of society, his attention was naturally attracted to that extraordinary phenomenon, exhibited in the *Poems of Ossian*, then recently published, of a people little removed from the condition of savages, very imperfectly acquainted even with the simplest arts, whose sole occupations were hunting and warfare ; yet possessing not only the heroic virtues in the highest perfection, but the purest sentiments of morality, and all that delicate regard for the female sex, which distinguishes an age of refinement and high civilization. The extrinsic proofs of the authenticity of those poems appearing to him sufficient, at least to the extent of establishing the fact of the existence for many ages of various fragments of the rhapsodies or songs of the ancient bards, which evinced that wonderful peculiarity of manners and sentiments ; he applied his ingenuity to account, if possible, for this phenomenon, by an inquiry into the manners of those nations, both of Gaulish and Scandinavian origin, of whom we have any certain historical records, while in a similar state of society to the ancient Caledonians. The fruits of his investigation he has detailed at large in that section of the work above alluded to, which he entitles, *Sketch on the Progress of Manners* : its general result he mentions in the following letter :

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CHAP. IV.

His investigation concerning the Poems of Ossian.

*Lord KAMES to Mrs MONTAGU.**“ Blair-Drummond, May 22. 1771.*

Writes to
Mrs Montagu
on that
subject.

“ Ever since my return to the country from the hurry of a town-life, I have been completely occupied upon my great and last work ; and it requires some effort to interrupt it even for a few minutes by a letter to Mrs Montagu, though commonly to me a most agreeable amusement. Whether I made any mention of *Ossian* in my last letter to her, I have forgot ; but there is no harm in saying a good thing twice. It has always surprised me to find the discovery of those poems from the rubbish of antiquity so coolly received in England ; which indicates a lamentable decay of taste. There is no excuse for your countrymen, but that the work was considered as a fiction and imposture. Remark, that I do not comprehend the women ; it would be injurious, when Mrs Montagu is its champion. Zeal for *Ossian*, and for the Island in which I was born, made me seriously think of setting about a vindication of that poet as a true historian ; and after making many collections from various authors, I have been successful beyond my hope. I have in particular made out, that the manners described by *Ossian* were the genuine manners of his country. Such refined notions, especially with respect to the female sex, of a people in the first stage of society, approach to a miracle ; and yet I have brought evidence of the fact sufficient to satisfy any impartial

tial jury. Fond of the discovery, I wrote to Macpherson, mentioning several imperfections in his edition of Ossian, particularly the confusion of names, and incidents thrown together without any order; and therefore recommending to him a new edition, arranging the several poems in the order of time, with a general historical preface, describing all the persons introduced, and shewing the connection of the different events, in order to make the reader acquainted beforehand with the *dramatis personæ*, and leave nothing but pure pleasure in the reading of the work. I have also suggested to him some amendments of the style; for though the composition on the whole is excellent, yet many passages are capable of a higher polish, without losing in point of strength. Mr Macpherson has embraced my hint more readily than I expected. But, is there not a part here to act worthy of Mrs Montagu? She has great weight with Macpherson; and her part will be, not only the encouraging him to proceed, but the giving him advice and direction about making improvements. You and I will not be the chief actors in this piece; but even Garrick does not always take to himself the capital parts; and it will give us both high satisfaction to set our countrymen right in their notions of Ossian, as the most important discovery that ever was made in the history of literature, as well as of manners.

“ And now that my mind is roused to the subject, I would have the new edition introduced in the most orna-

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BOOK III.

mental way. What would you think of adorning it with a few copperplates, representing the most striking incidents. Ornaments in books are like ceremonies in religion; they captivate the vulgar. If that decoration be resolved on, I undertake to contribute my mite, by suggesting several incidents that will make a figure in historical painting. Whether the edition will bear the expence of such a costly embellishment, I cannot judge. But it seems easy to prevent the risk, by a subscription for defraying the expence of the work thus embellished. I imagine that many would be glad to subscribe, in order to be ranked in a respectable list of people of taste; and a cheap purchase it will be to acquire that character for five or even ten guineas.

“ Take notice, fair Lady, that the great work is going on, and that you are engaged to contribute. I say, as Joab did to David, “ Gather your forces together, lest I take the city, “ and it be called after my name.”

“ As the Duke and Dutchess of Gordon are here just now, I dare not say that you would have heard from me quite so soon, but for the opportunity of a frank: Great events sometimes hang upon little causes. When her Grace and Lord Kames are together, Mrs Montagu is seldom forgotten.—Not in form only, but in substance, your sincere friend,

HENRY HOME.”

The

The answer to this letter, and to another on the same subject, does honour to the abilities and discernment of the writer.

CHAP. IV.

Mrs MONTAGU to Lord KAMES.

“ MY LORD, *Sandleford, October 3. 1771.*

“ I am quite ashamed to see how long your Lordship's letters have lain by me unanswered. I received them at Tunbridge, where writing was prohibited on account of the waters, which are anti-heliconian, and confuse and perplex the head. To give a worthy answer to your letters, the genuine Helicon would hardly suffice. It would not be enough to see into futurity, but one must have a view likewise of the ages that are past; and many of them, alas! were consigned to oblivion, as fast as the day or deeds were done. A tattling, lying gossip, called Tradition, did indeed, in her idle fashion, repeat some facts, invent others, and whisper to a new-born generation, in fable, allegory, and all the modes of story, the tale of other times. I have not less zeal for the *Poems of Ossian*, than if I had been born on one of his favourite mountains; and I shall be very glad to see history confirm all that his poetry has set forth. Your Lordship says, that these poems have been received with coldness in England. I will easily account to you for it, without supposing any decay of good taste. This age is sceptical: to
doubt,

Her opinion
of Ossian's
Poems.

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doubt, is now reckoned as much a mark of wisdom, as to know, was thought so in former ages. It was prodigiously for the interest of beaux and fribbles, to get a little honour for their flimsy judgments, by so easy a method as doubting of the authenticity of these poems. To read, might have hurt their eyes ; to judge of them was impossible ; but as doubt dwells on the threshold of knowledge, *they* may venture to speak to the porter, who never will be admitted to the master of the house. — So Beau Dapper and Beau Dimple denied their being genuine ; “ *Beaux form’d like Ladies, Ladies will believe.*”

“ Thus were the poems rejected by many in the polite world. In the learned world, one had plighted his poetic faith and love to Homer ; another to Virgil : all, then, that they could allow the Caledonian bard was a little transient admiration. Some were affected by national jealousies : the Scotch, say they, do not relish our poets, but truly expect that we should like their ghosts and trash. The Duke of Nivernois, who is a man of learning and taste, and as a Frenchman, noway invidious to a Highland bard, wished much for some evidence from history of the genuineness of the poems ; but none could be procured. I do not doubt of your Lordship being able to do more upon the subject, than any other person ; as in you (which is rare) application and genius join : But, in absolute void, where no objects exist, no glimmering

glimmering ray appears, there will be little difference of discernment,

CHAP. IV.

“ Between the mole’s dark curtain, and the lynx’s beam.”

Where exist the records of those ages? Not even any monuments of art appear. Were men civilized, before they were assembled in large communities? I do not mean to pun, when I say, there could hardly be civility without cities. Can one imagine politeness of manners began before even agriculture? Does Nature operate in other modes in Scotland, than in the rest of the world? Do not the ruins of Palmyra still bear witness to her former greatness? Are not the pyramids of Egypt witnesses, that that country was in possession of arts? How beautiful are the ruins of Athens! how august the ruins of Rome! Three grey stones, unpolished, uninscribed, were all the honours the departed hero, or celebrated bard, expected for the glorious labours of his life. We find only three characters amongst these Highlanders, the Warrior, the Bard, and the Hunter. As to the fair sex, I do believe, that, living in a country where the sun is not very ardent, they might be fair, though they were much exposed to weather, and certainly must have been obliged to partake of the labours and inconveniences of a savage state. But they would surely appear fair to Ossian, and to all his heroes; and the Celtæ were remarkably regardful of their women. I imagine that Ossian has given the fine gloss of poetry to a rude age. If there shall be found any fine edifices,

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fices, or any testimonies of higher improvement, we must begin to alter our opinions. But as to myself, I credited Ossian the more, because I do not see any thing in his poems inconsistent with uncivilized times. The heroes are brave in the field, hospitable and courteous at a feast. They were not cruel, as absolute savages are : but I believe our Celtic ancestors were not the brutes they have been imagined. I do not see any probability, that if the Highlanders had been once a polished people, they would have returned to barbarism ; as they were never subdued. The grandchildren of Fingal probably still remain upon the very mountain where his hall was built. They are now a fine people, brave, generous, and hospitable ; but the lowest order is not polished. I have seen lovely lasses amongst them, and as fair, I doubt not, as Malvina, though indeed she was the daughter-in-law of a King. I cannot believe they pulled down towns, to live on the mountains, nor houses, to dwell in huts. How great elegance of form is consistent with being exposed to the sun and wind of summer, and with being smoked like bacon, in the winter, I do not understand ; nor how great delicacy of manners subsisted, where all the men and women of a family undressed and slept in the same apartment. We are indeed apt to think too meanly of those who do not possess the arts of civil life : for man is a noble creature in himself ; and in his rudest state, he has many perfections. I was greatly pleased with Mr Macpherson's new work. He is in all respects a fine writer. No one writes the English language

guage better ; and he writes with great judgment, as well as genius. His account of the laws, language, religion, and customs of the Celtæ, is admirable. I long to hear how your Lordship proceeds in your inquiry into the age of Ossian. I have always imagined we were superciliously unjust to our ancestors, and because they had not our virtues and our qualities, rashly supposed they had not any character much above the savage.

“ I suppose you are now at Blair-Drummond, enjoying, in that fine place, the majestic beauties of the autumn. I am in Berkshire, where the character of the country is soft and pleasing, but without the sublime. I had a great deal of conversation about you with Lord Mansfield this summer. I am glad to tell you he is in perfect health. He has a great esteem for your Lordship, and his esteem, I need not add, is truly estimable. I am, my Lord, yours, &c.

E. MONTAGU.”

The opinion which this ingenious Lady seems to have formed of the *Poems of Ossian*, is, that judicious medium which lies between the high pretensions of the most zealous advocates for the authenticity of those poems, who maintain in its utmost extent their asserted antiquity, the veracity of the historical facts, and the fidelity of the picture of manners, which they display ; and that absolute incredulity which rejects every one of those pretensions, and stigmatizes

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the whole as a modern imposture. She takes that sober view of the subject, which a few persons of judgment and candour adopted, from the first appearance of those poems, and which bids fair at last to be the prevailing sentiment with the discerning and unprejudiced part of the public.

Result of the inquiry into their authenticity.

That a great mass of heroic poetry, strongly marked with the sublime, the tender and the pathetic, had been current in the Highlands of Scotland, and in Ireland, for several centuries; poetry, which was rehearsed or sung by the bards, and which commemorated the battles and exploits of a very ancient race of men, who inhabited those countries long before the periods of authentic history:—That when writing came into use, a part of that heroic poetry was then committed to manuscript, while the greater part still continued to float only in the memory, and thus to pass from one generation of bards to another, till that order of men had utterly decayed, when, of course, it was imperfectly remembered, and retained only in fragments by a few old men of the last generation:—That these fragments, much admired, and even venerated by the Highlanders, had so impressed some persons of taste*, before the time of Macpherson, that they were at much pains to collect them, and, in one instance, to publish a translated specimen:—That James Macpherson, some years afterwards, having translated a few of those fragments

* The Reverend Mr A. Pope, Jerom Stone, and others.

ments into English, which attracted the notice of Dr Blair, Mr John Home, Dr Fergusson, Lord Elibank, Sir Adam Fergusson, and others of the Scottish men of letters, was by them sent on a mission to the Highlands and Western Isles, to search for and collect all of that ancient poetry which he might either find in manuscript, or could gather from oral recitation :—and, that the result of that search was the recovery of a very large quantity of poetical compositions, which Macpherson put together, translated into English, and published, affirming it to be a faithful version of the original : These are facts which seem now to be ascertained by every kind of evidence of which the subject is capable.

Two questions, however, remain.—*First*, Are those fragments which are proved to have been known for some centuries back, actually coeval with the events which they relate, and thus to be relied on as a record of facts and of manners ?—*Secondly*, Has Macpherson been a faithful editor and translator ; or if he has altered his materials and improved upon his originals, to what extent has he done so ? Both these questions have been the subject of the keenest controversy, in which passion and prejudice seem, on both sides, to have obscured the judgment.

As to the *first* question, it will be evident on a very little reflection, that it is impossible, in the circumstances of the case, that it can receive a positive answer. That the principal

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pal events recorded in these poems are historical facts, and the manners a true picture, we have no other evidence than the poems themselves, whose authenticity is in question. But granting this were demonstrated from other authorities of authentic history, what consequence of any importance could we draw from it? The coincidence of a few of the facts with true history, and a resemblance of the manners there described to those of other rude nations; nay even the positive testimony of the best historians, that such were actually the manners of the ancient Calédonians, would be no decisive evidence of the antiquity of those poems. A skilful forger might, and most probably would, attend to and secure that coincidence. Neither, on the other hand, would a discrepance from the truth, both in facts and manners, prove those poems to be a modern fabrication: the painting might be imaginary in both these particulars, and yet the picture ancient. History, no doubt, is, or ought to be the faithful recorder of facts; but it is the province of Poetry to create. Fiction is her undisputed prerogative; and the greatest poets have indulged the most in the creations of fancy*.

Has

* The province of the Poet, as discriminated from that of the Historian, is well defined by *Bacon*: "Cum res gestæ, et eventus qui veræ historiæ subjiuntur, non sint ejus amplitudinis in quâ anima humana sibi satisfaciât, præsto est Poësis, quæ facta magis heroica confingat.—Quare et merito etiam divinitatis particeps videri possit Poësis, quia animum erigit, et in sublime rapit; rerum simulacra ad animi desideria accommodando, non animum rebus (quod Ratio facit et Historia) submittendo."—*De Aug. Scien.* lib. ii. cap. 13.

Has Homer confined himself to historic truth in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; or have the manners and sentiments of his heroes no tincture of poetic embellishment? But Ossian, it is alleged, has gone beyond Homer in this particular; for the Caledonian heroes far surpass the Grecian, in generosity, humanity, tenderness, and all the nobler virtues. We grant it. The Highland bard has only taken a greater stretch of poetic licence. But has he taken more than Tasso,—has he taken more than Milton? The absurdity lies in the supposition that Ossian ever *meant* to give a faithful picture either of facts or of manners*.

The *second* question, though it admits of a difference of conjectural opinion, is equally incapable of a positive decision. The mysterious silence of Macpherson while alive; the non-appearance, since his death, of many of those manuscripts, of which he was certainly possessed; the impossibility of verifying, at the distance of half a century, those fragments which he collected from the oral recitation of persons long since dead; all these circumstances leave the question,

* But Ossian, it will be said, records the deeds of his father, himself, and his own cotemporaries, and here at least we may expect veracity. No; for Ossian did not assume the character of the historian, but of the poet. He meant to exaggerate, to immortalize, to deify his heroes. The *Araucana* of *Ercilla* commemorates the poet's own exploits in a real expedition which he commanded, of the Spaniards against the Peruvians: He is the hero of his own poem; but he scruples not to embellish it with a thousand fictions.

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stion, as to the liberties taken by the translator, a subject of doubt, and his conduct a matter of just suspicion. A Committee of the Highland Society, whose skill in the Gaelic language, (without which it is equally presumptuous to form a decisive judgment, as for the blind to decide on colours), whose sagacity of research eminently fitted them for the task; who had the best opportunities for information, and spared no labour in acquiring it; and finally, whose candour and veracity are beyond all question, have pushed this investigation as far as it can possibly go. The modesty of their Report, which is a plain detail of evidence, without a word of argument, entitles it to the utmost respect; and on their belief as to the conduct of the Translator, it seems safe and prudent for those to rely, who cannot boast of possessing their advantages in the inquiry. “ We are inclined to “ believe,” (says this Committee), “ that he (the translator) “ was in use to supply chasms, and to give connexion, by “ inserting passages which he did not find, and to add what “ he conceived to be dignity and delicacy to the original “ composition, by striking out passages, by softening incidents, by refining the language; in short, by changing “ what he considered as too simple or too rude for a modern ear, and elevating what in his opinion was below the “ standard of good poetry *. To what degree, however, he “ exercised

* In the exercise of this licence, Macpherson has borrowed liberally from the sentiments and expressions of the best poets, ancient and modern, a liberty which,

“ exercised these liberties, it is impossible for the Committee
 “ to determine. The advantages he possessed, which the
 “ Committee began its inquiries too late to enjoy, of col-
 “ lecting from the oral recitation of a number of persons
 “ now no more, a very great number of the same poems, on
 “ the same subjects, and then collating those different co-
 “ pies or editions, if they may be so called, rejecting what
 “ was spurious or corrupted in one copy, and adopting from
 “ another something more genuine and excellent in its
 “ place, afforded him an opportunity of putting together
 “ what might fairly enough be called an *original whole*, of
 “ much more beauty, and with much fewer blemishes, than
 “ the

which, to a certain extent, has been assumed by the most celebrated of the modern poetical translators from the works of the ancients. Pope, in the Postscript to his translation of the *Odyssey*, acknowledges that he made considerable use of the style of Milton, to give dignity and ornament to his own versions of Homer. It seems, therefore, to be a very inconclusive argument, which, has been so strenuously urged, by the opponents of the authenticity of *Ossian's Poems*, That numberless passages and phrases in Macpherson's translation have a striking similarity to, and sometimes an identity with, certain passages and phrases to be found in the Holy Scriptures, in Pope's Homer, Dryden's Virgil, Milton, Thomson, Gray, &c. A similar exertion of industry may likewise discover many such resemblances and coincidences of expression in his versions of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*; and the translator of Ossian might have freely confessed, that he borrowed from all those sources, to improve his translations both of the Gaelic bard and of the Greek.

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“ the Committee believes it now possible for any person; or
 “ combination of persons, * to obtain *.”

Such, it is probable, will be the opinion formed by a more impartial posterity, on the *Poems of Ossian*, when their history and merits shall be canvassed by a cooler judgment, and the prejudices of mankind, though they may still in some degree attend the question, shall lose much of that force they drew from temporary causes, and transitory associations.

Prosecution
 of the Au-
 thor's inqui-
 ries relative
 to the Hi-
 story of Man.

It was an invariable practice of Lord Kames, when employed in the composition of any of those works which he intended for the public eye, to direct his researches, not only to the writings of others, but to draw out, in conversation with his literary friends, or by correspondence with those persons best qualified to instruct him, every degree of information he could obtain on the subject which engaged his thoughts. As his letters, therefore, to men of science were most commonly those of inquiry, and were generally drawn up in the form of queries, it fortunately happens, that though few only of these have been recovered, the answers of his correspondents supply in a great measure that want, and give

* *Report of the Committee of the Highland Society of Scotland, appointed to Inquire into the Nature and Authenticity of the Poems of Ossian; drawn up by HENRY MACKENZIE, Esq; 1805. p. 152.*

give sufficient information of their contents. Thus, while occupied in collecting materials for his *Sketches of the History of Man*, and employed particularly on those parts of his subject which regard the distinguishing characteristics of Man compared with the inferior animals, the nature of instinct, the analogy between animals and vegetables, the power of habit, and the alterations it is capable of producing in the external characters of both, through all their different species; we are at no loss to discern the train of Lord Kames's inquiries, in a correspondence with the eminent naturalist I have before-mentioned, Professor John Walker, when we find the latter thus expressing himself with that amusing *naïveté* peculiar to his character, in a letter of the 18th February 1773*:

“ To raise Monkeys to Men; to degrade Men to Monkeys; to attempt to annihilate, or even to extenuate the line of partition between them, is a reigning taste in philosophy, which gives me great disgust. Linnæus indeed has long ranked us in the same order of animals with the *Bat*: and though in this article, I myself perhaps justify his method as much as any individual of my species †, yet I could

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never.

* The reader will find this curious and most instructive letter at NO. II. of the Appendix, Letter I.

† There was but too much truth in this pleasantry of the worthy Professor. It was his custom for a great part of his life to indulge himself in nocturnal study;

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never look at it without umbrage. He still, however, placed Man in a genus by himself, at the head of the system. He stickled a little, indeed, for combining us with the *Oran-outang*; but finding that the creature had a *membrana nictitans*, he allowed him to remain with his companions. This was well enough: but his behaviour in his last book is truly provoking. He has there given us a brother-german,—a *Homo Lar*, forsooth! some little scoundrel of a monkey, picked up in the woods of Macassar; whose very name I hold in such detestation, that I am persuaded I am not a drop's-blood to him.

“ Let

study; seldom feeling the resolution to quit his books and papers till four or five o'clock in the morning, and, of course, passing the better part of the day in bed: a practice which destroyed a good constitution, and in the end was attended with the total loss of eye-sight, for the last six or seven years of his life. Yet, though thus deprived of the principal source of his enjoyments, and deeply suffering from domestic misfortune, the blessings of a well-regulated mind, an equal temper, a happy flow of animal spirits, and a memory rich in knowledge, and stored with amusing anecdotes, not only rendered his conversation delightful to his friends, but supplied the means and power of still occupying his time with his favourite literary and scientific pursuits. It was but a very few weeks before his death, that the Author of this Work, (who lost in him one of his earliest and most valued friends), in the course of many pleasant hours passed with him at his beautiful parsonage-house, and in his garden at Collington, drew from him various particulars of the life and character of their common friend Lord Kames, which have served to improve these Memoirs.

“ Let your Lordship pursue the analogy between Plants and Mankind, as far as you will, it is not likely I shall be so much offended as with my friend Linnæus. I have been from the cradle, fond of vegetative life; and though I like my species, and the rank I hold in the creation, I declare I would sooner claim kindred to an oak or an apple-tree, than to an ape.”

That the analogy here hinted at by Dr Walker, between plants and animals, was a favourite subject of speculation with Lord Kames, appears from the notice he has occasionally bestowed upon it in more than one of his works. It pleased his imagination, and coincided agreeably with that propensity we discover through the whole of his philosophy, to search for final causes in every object of creation *.

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* See at NO. II. (Letters II. and III.) of the Appendix, a Letter from Lord KAMES on this curious subject to Sir JAMES NASMITH, with an excellent answer from that able man, who was equally respectable for his talents and accomplishments, as for his private virtues.

CHAPTER V.

Lord Kames's Sketches of the History of Man.—Plan and Nature of the Work.—Remarks on Conjectural History.—Progress of Man from Barbarism to Civilization.—Government.—Finances.—The new doctrines in Political Economy.—Police with respect to the Poor.—Principles of Morality.—Progress of Morality.—Principles of Theology.—Progress of Theology.

BOOK III.
Sketches of
the History
of Man.

IN 1774, Lord KAMES gave to the public his *Sketches of the History of Man*, in two volumes 4to. In a short preface, he expresses his hope, “ that this work, the child of his grey
“ hairs, will survive, and bear testimony for him to good
“ men, that even a laborious calling, which left him not
“ many leisure hours, never banished from his mind, that he
“ would little deserve to be of the human species, were he
“ indifferent about his fellow-creatures : *Homo sum : humani*
“ *nihil a me alienum puto.*” — He owns, that “ most of the
“ subjects he has handled admit only of probable reasoning ;
“ that the fear of being misled by such arguments filled him
“ with anxiety, and that after his utmost attention, he could
“ but

“ but faintly hope, that he had not often wandered far from “ the truth.” He intimates that many years ago, and while in the vigour of youth, he had conceived the design of collecting materials for a Natural History of Man ; but that finally, from a due sense of the boldness of such an undertaking, and of the limits of his own abilities, he had confined his plan to the execution of a few imperfect Sketches. The work, however, thus modestly announced by its author, though in the form of separate Essays or Dissertations, is digested with a considerable degree of systematic regularity in its plan and arrangement ; and is valuable, not only from the great variety of important objects which it embraces, but for the genius and ability displayed in their discussion.

It is divided into three Books ; in the first of which the Author treats of the progress of Men as individuals ; in the second, he examines their progress in society ; and in the last, he details the rise and progress of the sciences. These general heads admit of many subordinate divisions, which comprehend almost every subject that can illustrate either the moral, political, or economical history of the species.

Plan and
Nature of
that work.

Under the first division, Lord Kames examines the question, Whether the apparent varieties we observe in the figure of man, and general character of his mind, in different regions of the earth, indicate distinct races of men, or have proceeded from the operation of climate, or other circumstances,

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stances, altering the external forms and character of the human race? He details with accuracy these differential appearances; and he concludes on this subject, that every argument from facts would lead to the belief of distinct races of men having been originally created, were not the positive evidence of Scripture decisive to the contrary*. To this authority he submits himself with deference, and proceeds to account, with great ingenuity, for the diversities of languages and of manners, on the basis of the Mosaic account of a single race, whose progress and attainments were uniform; till the dispersion and confusion at Babel scattered them over the face of the earth, reduced them to the condition of savages, and from the abolition of every trace of past improvements, made it necessary for each separate tribe to form for itself a language, and commence an original progress from barbarism to civilization.

On the supposition, therefore, of the universality of the savage state, Lord Kames thinks himself warranted to infer, that the history of the progress of any one rude people from a state of barbarism to refinement, is, in a great measure, the history of the species; and, that in defect of the authentic records of any particular nation marking distinctly this progress

* See some excellent observations on this subject by Professor JOHN WALKER, in a Letter to Lord KAMES, at NO. II. of the Appendix to this Volume, p. 31, 32, &c.

gress in a connected chain, it is allowable to draw from every quarter such facts as are illustrative of manners, habits of life, prevailing customs, ideas of morality, or the origin of arts and improvements, and adopt them without scruple as documents of the general history of Man. Of such facts the author has, with great industry, accumulated a very ample collection : nor is the ingenuity less conspicuous with which he has classed and combined them, so as to form from the whole, a luminous, skilful and systematic delineation of the progress of the human race, and the various improvements in the condition of society.

From this general view of the Author's mode of reasoning, it is evident, that a considerable part of the work must consist of that sort of inquiry which has been properly termed, *Theoretic or Conjectural History* *, a species of investigation admirably fitted to display the ingenuity of the writer ; and in so far interesting to the reader, as it suggests a variety of curious speculations on the general principles of human nature, and on those common laws of our moral constitution, which lead to the origin of arts and sciences, the improvement of manners, and by a gradual progress to all the refinements of social life. It must be owned, however, that as the basis on which such theories are built is always to be suspected, from the very scanty information which is
to

Remarks on
Conjectural
History.

* See *suprà*, Vol. I. p. 200. Note regarding the writings of Professor MILLAR.

BOOK III.

to be obtained from authentic history, relative to the rude periods of society ; and the slender faith which is due to the relations of travellers, often superficial observers, prone to the marvellous, or careless of verifying extraordinary accounts ; there is occasion for much caution in giving our assent to any important conclusions deduced from such uncertain premises. To readers of a metaphysical turn, and even to those of a lively imagination and sanguine temperament, who are caught by a beautiful and artful hypothesis, such inquiries afford the highest pleasure ; while by the more sober, cautious, yet penetrating intellect, they are received with jealousy, scrutinized with phlegm, and in the end coldly laid aside, as airy, vague, and unsubstantial speculations.

It will be very evident that these remarks, whether just or otherwise, can only apply to such parts of this elaborate work, as consist of that species of reasoning above alluded to, and which is employed particularly in accounting for the earliest improvements in the social order, when man is just emerging from barbarism, and when the records of his history are few and uncertain. The *Sketches of the History of Man*, comprise a variety of ingenious disquisitions on the most important topics of Moral Philosophy, Politics, Economics and Legislation, of which the *data* are alike abundant, as their authority and certainty are unquestionable. On these interesting subjects, the talents and industry of the
Author

Author have furnished a great body of useful information ; while the hand of a master is every where conspicuous, in the judicious arrangement of his materials, and in the skill with which they are combined, to form separate treatises on the various topics of inquiry ; yet all bearing relation to each other, as the parts of a general system.

Thus, the arrangement appears easy and natural, when, after treating of the progress of men with respect to *Food* and *Population*, or the general doctrines which regard the preservation and continuance of the species, the next step in the inquiry relates to the origin of *Property* ; which being once acknowledged, a foundation is laid for a most natural exercise of that right in exchange or barter, which is the beginning of *Commerce*. A tribe thus far advanced, must have made some progress in the *Useful Arts* : A gradual improvement in the productions of these, leads easily to the *Fine Arts*, which give exercise to *Taste*. The advancement of *Manners* keeps pace with the arts : but the *State of Women*, in all nations, reciprocally influences and is influenced by the progress of manners. As the arts and manners are improved, *Luxury* increases, which, within due bounds, contributes to the highest enjoyment of social life, but, carried to an extreme, produces the corruption and final dissolution of a State.

Progress of
Man from
barbarism to
civilization.

BOOK III.

Such is the Author's plan in the first of the three great divisions of his work ; and the arrangement of the others is equally natural and perspicuous.

The Second Book embraces the Author's doctrines on the subjects of Government, Finances, and Political Economy.

Government.

In his general views of *Government*, his comparison of the different forms, in point of advantages and defects, his delineation of the progress of States from small to great, and the reverse, the Author adopts many of the doctrines of Montesquieu, though without a servile adherence to his opinions, which, in several instances, are more specious than solid. In estimating the comparative merits of the different forms of Government, Lord Kames proposes a criterion which pleases at first sight, from its simplicity : That, that form is the best which tends most to nourish the spirit of patriotism. Yet, may it not be questioned, whether the patriotic spirit, though certainly incapable of a vigorous existence, where the condition of the subject is unhappy from the tyranny of his governors, be in every case a measure of his positive happiness and prosperity ? Patriotism was no where so vigorous as in the Lacedæmonian Republic : yet surely the condition of man cannot, with truth, be affirmed to have been either really dignified or prosperous under that extraordinary institution, which encouraged, in some instances, a breach of the moral duties ; and which extinguished even
the

the natural affections, those prime sources of human enjoyment, and firmest bonds of the social union.

CHAP. V.

On the subject of *Finances*, the Author's observations are highly worthy of attention. They unfold those general principles regarding the public revenue, which are interesting alike to the Statesman and Legislator, whose province it is to direct the raising of those supplies which furnish it, and to the individuals from whose property they are to be drawn. On this subject, one general observation of the Author cannot be too earnestly inculcated ; That Taxes are never of an indifferent nature to the public good ; they are either positively advantageous, or positively detrimental : they are not unfrequently more oppressive to the people than beneficial to their governors. On the other hand, it is possible, for the most part, so to frame them, that what is taken immediately from the individual, shall be more than repaid to him, by the general effect of the tax in the promotion of industry, manufactures and commerce. Agreeably to these enlarged notions, the Author canvasses the nature and effects of many of the existing taxes under our own government ; adverts occasionally to the policy of other nations in similar articles of finance ; and exposes the errors into which Statesmen have fallen, from the influence of narrow views of supplying the coffer of the State in the most simple and expeditious manner, though by expedients which exhaust the springs of future revenue, in as much as they discourage particular

Finances.

P 2

branches

BOOK III.

branches of industry, and thus sap the foundations of the national wealth.

The new
doctrines in
political eco-
nomy.

In the disquisitions of Lord Kames on these and other subjects of political economy, the intelligent reader will be sufficiently aware, that he is not to look for that system which has of late obtained a very general prevalence, and of which the practical influence has been extensively felt, in various new arrangements, particularly of commercial policy, in our own, and some of the continental kingdoms of Europe. Mr Smith's elaborate work *on the Wealth of Nations*, which first completely unfolded those doctrines, was not published till two years after the appearance of the work of Lord Kames. To the writings of QUESNAI, TURGOT, and others of the French economists, he was altogether a stranger; and although the Political Essays of his friend David Hume, which perhaps gave the first hint of that enlarged policy with regard to the freedom of trade, which forms the basis of the new system, were certainly known to him; yet as these novel opinions are thrown out by that ingenious writer rather in the way of doubts regarding the prevailing doctrines of commerce, than as actually substituting a wiser and better policy in their stead, it is no wonder that his notions, however rational, were not sufficiently authoritative either with the partizans of the old commercial system, or with such men as had been long accustomed to form opinions for themselves.

Yet

Yet it is pleasing to remark, and it affords indeed an additional presumption in favour of the new doctrines, that their general principles stand acknowledged even by those who had no suspicion of their extensive application, or the changes they were destined to produce on the actual arrangements of commercial policy; and who perhaps would have resisted those changes as rash and empirical experiments. Thus Lord Kames, in his *Sketch on the Origin and Progress of Commerce*, maintains the following enlightened doctrine with regard to the jealousies concerning the balance of trade: “How ignorantly do people struggle against the
“ necessary connexion of causes and effects. If money do
“ not overflow, a commerce in which the imports exceed in
“ value the exports, will soon drain a nation of its money,
“ and put an end to industry. Commercial nations, for that
“ reason, struggle hard for a favourable balance of trade;
“ and they fondly imagine that it cannot be too favourable.
“ If too advantageous to them, it must be disadvantageous
“ to those they deal with; which proves equally ruinous to
“ both. They foresee, indeed, but without concern, immediate ruin to those they deal with; but they have no inclination to foresee, that ultimately it will prove equally
“ ruinous to themselves. It appears to be the intention of
“ Providence, that all nations should benefit by commerce,
“ as by sunshine; and it is so ordered, that an unequal balance is prejudicial to the gainers, as well as to the losers:
“ the latter are immediate sufferers; but not less so ultimately.”

BOOK III.

“ mately are the former. This is one remarkable instance,
 “ among many, of providential wisdom in conducting hu-
 “ man affairs, independant of the will of man ; and fre-
 “ quently against his will. An ambitious nation, placed ad-
 “ vantageously for trade, would willingly engross all to
 “ themselves, and reduce their neighbours to be hewers of
 “ wood and drawers of water. But an invincible bar is op-
 “ posed to such avarice, making an overgrown commerce
 “ the means of its own destruction. The commercial ba-
 “ lance, held by the hand of Providence, is never permitted
 “ to preponderate much to one side ; and every nation par-
 “ takes, or may partake, of all the comforts of life *.”

The consonance of these observations with the doctrines
 of the author of *The Wealth of Nations*, is very remarkable.

“ Nothing, (says Mr Smith †), can be more absurd than
 “ the prevailing doctrine of the Balance of Trade, on which
 “ almost all the regulations of commerce are founded.
 “ When two places trade with one another, this doctrine
 “ supposes, that if the balance be even, neither of them ei-
 “ ther loses or gains ; but if it leans in any degree, to one
 “ side, that one of them loses and the other gains in pro-
 “ portion

* *Sketches of the History of Man*, Book I. Sketch IV.

† *Wealth of Nations*, Book IV. Chap. III.

“ portion to its declension from the exact equilibrium. Both
 “ suppositions are false. That trade which, without force or
 “ constraint, is naturally and regularly carried on between
 “ any two places, is always advantageous, though not al-
 “ ways equally so, to both.—By such maxims as these,
 “ nations have been taught, that their interest consisted in
 “ beggaring all their neighbours. Each nation has been
 “ made to look with an invidious eye upon the prosperity of
 “ all the nations with which it trades, and to consider their
 “ gain as its own loss. Commerce, which ought naturally
 “ to be among nations, as among individuals, a bond of
 “ union and friendship, has become the most fertile source
 “ of discord and animosity. The same maxims which would
 “ direct the sense of one, or ten, or twenty individuals,
 “ should regulate the judgment of one, or ten, or twenty
 “ millions, and should make a whole nation regard the
 “ riches of its neighbours as a probable cause and occasion
 “ for itself to acquire riches.—The modern maxims of fo-
 “ reign commerce, by aiming at the impoverishment of all
 “ our neighbours, so far as they are capable of producing
 “ their intended effect, tend to render that very commerce
 “ insignificant and contemptible *.”

Of

* While acquiescing in the general solidity of these doctrines, I would not
 be understood as hazarding any opinion of my own, on a subject which I have
 always considered as of the utmost intricacy : I mean, to what extent some of
 those principles, which are the foundation of the reasonings of Mr Smith, and
 other economical writers of the same school, may with safety be carried. That
 they

BOOK III

Police with
respect to
the Poor.

Of Lord Kames's speculations on political economy, there are none more deserving of attention than those which respect the provisions for the maintenance of the *Poor*. I enter

they are not to be pushed to an extent so unlimited as that ingenious writer contends for, I think we must be convinced from actual experience, which has proved the necessity, in certain emergencies, for some restrictions on that freedom of disposal, which in general every man ought to have of his wealth and talents. It may be perfectly true, that the price of industry, and of all its fruits, if left entirely free, will, like water, arrive in time at its just level; but it is equally true, that this process of nature, though sure, may be so slow, that a nation shall in the mean time suffer all the misery of famine, from the selfish schemes of ill-directed avarice. Can it be denied, that it is the duty of a wise Government, in its care of the common weal, to use its powers for the prevention of so formidable an evil; though it should thereby impose a temporary restraint on the rights of individuals? The parallel which an able writer has drawn between the opinions of TURGOT and NECKER on this important subject, appears to me to be the result of a sound judgment, and to contain much matter for serious consideration.

“ *Turgot* traitoit en maladie chronique l'épuisement et la ruine des finances et du crédit. La sagesse de son régime, ses moyens d'amélioration, les encouragemens et les soulagemens qu'ils donnoit à l'agriculture, la liberté rendue au commerce et à l'industrie, ne promettoient que des succès lents, et que des ressources tardives, lorsqu'il y avoit des besoins urgens aux quels il falloit subvenir. Son système de liberté pour toute espèce de commerce, n'admettoit dans son étendu, ni restriction, ni limites; or, à l'égard de l'aliment de première nécessité, quand même cette liberté absolue n'auroit eu que des périls momentanés, le risque de laisser tarir pour tout un peuple les sources de la vie, n'étoit point un hazard à courir sans inquiétude. L'obstination de *Turgot* à écarter du commerce des grains toute espèce de surveillance, ressembloit trop à l'entêtement. — *Turgot*, pour le commerce, l'industrie

ter not into the different opinions which have been entertained on this important subject; but shall merely exhibit an outline of his particular doctrines.

CHAP. V.

The

“ l'industrie et l'agriculture ne pouvoit souffrir le régime réglementaire de
 “ *Colbert* ; il regardoit comme un droit inhérent à la propriété, une liberté
 “ sans réserve de disposer, chacun à son gré, de son bien et de ses talens ; il
 “ vouloit qu'on laissât l'intérêt personnel se consulter lui-même, et se con-
 “ duire, persuadé qu'il se conduiroit bien, et que de l'action réciproque des
 “ intérêts particuliers résulteroit le bien général. *Necker*, plus timide, pen-
 “ soit que l'intérêt, dans presque tous les hommes, avoit besoin d'être con-
 “ duit et modéré ; qu'en attendant qu'il eut reçu les leçons de l'expérience, il
 “ seroit bon d'y suppléer par la sagesse des réglemens ; que ce n'étoit point à
 “ la cupidité privée, qu'il falloit confier le soin du bien publique ; que si,
 “ pour la tranquillité et pour la sûreté d'une nation entière, la liberté civile,
 “ la liberté morale, devoient être rétreintes et soumises à des loix, il étoit
 “ juste aussi, que la liberté du commerce pût être modérée et même suspen-
 “ due, toutes les fois surtout qu'il y alloit du salut commun ; que la pro-
 “ priété des biens de première nécessité n'étoit pas assez absolument indivi-
 “ duelle, pour donner à une partie de la nation le droit de laisser périr l'autre ;
 “ et qu'autant il seroit injuste de tenir ces biens à vil prix, autant il le seroit
 “ à les laisser monter à une valeur excessive ; qu'enfin, laisser le riche avare
 “ dicter au pauvre avec trop d'empire la dure loi de la nécessité, ce seroit
 “ mettre la multitude à la merci du petit nombre, et qu'il étoit de la sagesse
 “ et du devoir de l'administration de tenir entre eux la balance.

“ L'avarice, disoit *Turgot*, ne sera point à craindre, où regnera la liberté ;
 “ et le moyen d'assurer l'abondance, c'est de laisser aux objets de commerce
 “ une pleine circulation. Le blé sera cher quelquefois ; mais la main-d'œuvre
 “ sera chère aussi, et tout sera mis au niveau.

“ Quand

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The support of those who are truly necessitous from disease or calamity ; who have the will, but not the power to labour, is a duty not less enforced by religion, than by moral obligation, and the feelings of humanity. In England this duty is strongly felt, but an unwise policy has directed the provisions for discharging it. The English poor-laws are both unjust and oppressive. It is injustice, when the frugal and industrious are taxed to maintain the idle and the worthless. It is oppression, when much greater sums are levied than go to the support of the poor, and the surplus is abused to enrich the collectors and overseers. The poor-rates of England amounted, in Dr Davenant's time, to £. 700,000 a-year ; they now extend to near three millions. The notorious abuses attending their collection and application, have the worst effect on the mind of the people : they exasperate them against their rulers, and encourage the belief that all taxes are misapplied. From the same source proceed evils of still greater magnitude : depopulation, idleness, profligacy, and the extinction of the humane affections. To avoid a continually increasing burden, proprietors of land drive the poor out of their parishes ; cottages are demolished, marriage

“ Quand le prix du blé montera progressivement, disoit *Necker*, sans doute
 “ il réglera le prix de l'industrie, et de tous les salaires, et personne n'en
 “ souffrira ; mais quand le blé s'élèvera subitement à une valeur excessive, le
 “ peuple aura long tems à souffrir avant que tout soit de niveau.”—*Oeuvres*
 de MARMONTEL ; *Mémoires d'un Père pour l'Instruction de ses Fils*, tom. iii.

riage discouraged, husbandry and manufactures impeded from the scarcity of hands, and every parish is at war with its neighbours concerning pauper-settlements and removals. The price of labour, which, in Scotland, is always near a level, varies in England not only in every county, but almost in every parish. In England, every man, if he chooses, may be idle; for the parish provides for him: this security makes him rate his wages as high as he pleases; for he knows that, though wanting occupation, he can never starve. Thus the first motive to industry, the fear of want, is entirely removed: idleness ensues, with its inseparable attendants, profligacy, disease, and misery. The immoral effects of these unwise institutions are not confined to their immediate objects. The man who is not obliged to work for his children, ceases to have a regard for them; and they who do not depend on his industry for their support, and who see their parent idle and a profligate, lose for him all natural affection. The private charities of individuals are restrained by the grievance of the public tax, general humanity is weakened, and a cold and hardened selfishness predominates.

Of the various proposals for remedy of the evils attending the poor-laws, as they stand at present, none have hitherto been found effectual. The good policy of hospitals is extremely doubtful; witness those for the reception of prostitutes: one relieves them when pregnant; another cures them

Q 2

of

BOOK III.

of disease; a third makes them welcome when they are worn out, and no longer fit for their occupation. What are all these, but so many legal encouragements to prostitution? and they are known to have that effect. The hospital for foundlings is yet more pernicious in its consequences: while it prompts to debauchery, it mines the principle of natural affection. In some countries it is a Golgotha of the human race; a third of the infants born in Paris are sent to the *Enfans trouvés*, where they perish through mismanagement and corrupted air. Infants exposed must be taken care of: but let there be no premium for exposing them.—Some institutions of this nature, however, are wise in their principle, and beneficial in their effects: An hospital for Orphans, if properly regulated, like that of Edinburgh; an hospital for the sick and wounded; an hospital for the decayed seaman and soldier, who have faithfully served their country; all these are wise, humane, and useful institutions.

But for that numerous class who are merely indigent, is it impossible to devise any legal establishment which shall not be pernicious? The Author inclines to that opinion; and chiefly for this reason, That as no distinction can, under such public provisions, be made between virtue and vice, they are in reality a premium for idleness. He asks, By what unhappy prejudice are we led to suppose, that the Almighty, so provident otherwise of the welfare of his creatures, has abandoned the poor to perish, unless the laws shall interfere to

to support them? Compassion, natural to the human race, is, in his opinion, abundantly sufficient to enforce this obligation. It points to every man the objects, and directs the measure of his bounty. Voluntary charity supports the humane affections, and strengthens the tie of sympathy between the poor and the rich, the prosperous and the unhappy; where compulsive provisions freeze the source of affection, and break that bond of nature.

The third division of the Author's work unfolds his views of the Principles and Progress of Reason, of Morality, and of Theology. All human knowledge, in his opinion, is either *intuitive* or *discursive*. Under the former description, is comprehended every thing that we derive from a single act of perception; as the knowledge acquired by means of the senses; and the conviction we have of the truth of many abstract but simple propositions, as the belief of our own existence, and that of the material world: Under the latter division is contained every thing which requires that process of the mind termed Reasoning; which leads, by certain intermediate steps, to the proposition that is to be made evident. The external senses attain much sooner to perfection than the internal; and the knowledge derived from the former, is both more quickly acquired, and more certain, than what is derived from the latter. Reason is of slow growth; it is subject to various impediments, which retard its progress; and the accurate knowledge of these impediments, in order

Principles
and Progress
of Reason.

BOOK III.

order to their removal, is the most effectual means to promote its advancement. To enumerate these with precision, is therefore a principal part of the Author's design ; and he presents a very instructive, though a very mortifying catalogue of those singular aberrations of the human understanding ; those false doctrines and opinions, which, at different periods, have maintained an extensive prevalence with mankind, and retarded the progress of reason in the search of truth. These have their origin in those prejudices, or wrong biases of the understanding, which Lord Bacon, in his fanciful language, has termed the *Idols of the mind* * ; and which he has been most successful in his endeavour to destroy, by a fair exposition of their pernicious influence. To that great genius, likewise, the world is indebted for the demolition of the ancient school-dialectics ; and for substituting in their room, the only certain guide to the discovery of truth, or, as he called it, a *new organ*, or *instrument* of knowledge,—the mode of discovery by Induction and Experiment. Before his time, philosophy was fettered by forms and syllogisms. The logics of Aristotle held the human mind in bondage for nearly two thousand years ; a miserable jugglery, which was fitted to render all truth problematical, and which disseminated a thousand errors, but never brought to light one useful piece of knowledge.

But

* Idols of the Tribe, the Den, the Market, and the Theatre.—See *De Augmentis Scientiarum*, lib. v. cap. iv. sect. 3.

But this extraordinary fabric of delusion, is, in itself, a very curious object of investigation. There must be merit, of one sort or another, in that system, which could maintain an influence so lasting and so universal. It is, therefore, with much propriety, that the Author, in an Appendix to his Sketch on the Progress of Reason, has given a complete analysis of the Logics of Aristotle, compiled with great skill and precision by his ingenious friend, Dr Reid. In this delineation, we contemplate, with a mixed emotion of wonder and regret, a system which is the combined effort of wisdom and of folly; and which, in the apt comparison of Lord Kames, displays, like the Pyramids of Egypt, or the hanging gardens of Babylon, an incredible waste of genius and labour, to no purpose of real utility.

In the speculations of Lord Kames on the subject of *Morals*, we find the same train of thought and reasoning which form the substance of his *Essays on Morality and Natural Religion*; but the doctrines are here given with greater amplitude, and are more systematically digested, than in that earlier work.

Principles of
Morality.

The fundamental principles of morality are laid down with precision, and are shewn to have their origin in a few simple laws of the human constitution. The perception of the qualities of right and wrong in voluntary actions, which is the foundation of the moral conduct of man, is intuitive.

It

BOOK III.

It depends not on reason; for those qualities are perceived antecedently to all investigations of the reasoning faculty; and supposing them hid from our perception, we could never discover them by a train of reasoning. They are the objects of a particular sense, called the *Moral Sense*. That every individual, whose constitution is not imperfect, is endued with this sense, more or less distinct, is as certain as that he possesses the senses of seeing and hearing. The instinctive nature, and therefore the certainty, of the moral sense, is the foundation of Lord Kames's philosophy.

He allows, that the prevalence of some very erroneous ideas of morality in different nations, and in different periods of society, affords a proof, that the moral sense has not been equally perfect at all times, and in all countries: but he argues, that this no more concludes against the uniform certainty of that principle of our nature, than a vitiated perception, occasionally observable with respect to the objects of the external senses, a faulty taste in the productions of the fine arts, or a monstrous birth among the productions of the animal world, would infer the uncertainty of the corresponding laws of Nature with respect to those perceptions or objects. Without this uniformity of the moral sense, men would be unqualified for society; they could have no confidence in each other's faith; discord would be universal; and laws could have no obligation.

Thus

Thus, founded on intuitive perception, and universal in its influence, the moral sense, or Conscience, is the voice of God within us, constantly admonishing us of our duty, and requiring from us no other exercise of our faculties than attention merely. By one branch of this sense, we are taught what we ought to do, and what we ought not to do; by another, what we may do, or leave undone. But society would be imperfect, if the moral sense stopped here. A third branch of this great law of our nature informs us, that we are accountable for our conduct to our fellow-creatures; and lastly, it teaches us with equal certainty, that we are accountable to our Maker.

Such are the outlines of Lord Kames's System of Morality. A standard being thus established for regulating the moral conduct of man, the Author proceeds to investigate those various principles which are the motives of human actions, of which the propriety or impropriety is to be determined by that standard: And it is in this detail of the motives of our conduct, that he has been censured by some philosophers for multiplying unnecessarily the instinctive principles of our nature. This objection I formerly noticed, in treating of the Author's *Essays on Morality and Natural Religion* *; and I have little to observe in addition to the remarks already made on that subject. Lord Kames may

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R

possibly

* See *supra*, Book I. Chap. v. vol. i. p. 135.

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possibly in a few instances have erred, in ascribing to separate principles of our nature, some phenomena which might with more propriety have been classed under the same general law. This is a censure which has been applied by Dr Priestley and others, to Reid, Beattie, and, in general, to what has been termed the Scotch School of Philosophy. But the error, if in truth it be one, is of very small importance. It is much less hurtful to the progress of knowledge than the opposite extreme of rash and superficial generalization. It is well observed by an acute philosopher, "That
 " the obvious tendency of the latter, is to withdraw the at-
 " tention from the study of particular phenomena; while
 " the effect of the former, is only to detain us in this preli-
 " minary step a little longer than is absolutely necessary *."

Progress of
Morality.

From a detail of the Principles of Morality, Lord Kames proceeds to delineate its progress, from its infancy among savages, to its maturity among polished nations. In this investigation, we perceive the moral sense, like our other senses external and internal, weak at first and imperfect, and gradually acquiring strength, like them, from experience and culture. The progress is similar in nations and in individuals. "The savage state is the infancy of a nation,
 " during which the moral sense is feeble, yielding to custom,
 " to imitation, and to passion. Hatred and revenge, the
 " great

* *Life of Dr Reid, by Professor D. STEWART, p. 94.*

“ great obstacles to moral duty, raged without controul,
 “ while the privilege of avenging wrongs was permitted to
 “ individuals. But hatred and revenge yielded gradually
 “ to the pleasures of society, and to the growing authority
 “ of the moral sense; and benevolent affections prevailed
 “ over the dissocial passions.—In the progress from ma-
 “ turity to a declining state, a nation differs widely from an
 “ individual. Old age puts an end to the latter; there are
 “ many causes that weaken the former; but old age is none
 “ of them; if it be not in a metaphorical sense. Riches,
 “ selfishness, and luxury, are the diseases that weaken pro-
 “ sperous nations. These diseases following each other in a
 “ train, corrupt the heart, dethrone the moral sense, and
 “ make an anarchy in the soul. Such are the outlines of
 “ the progress of morality, from birth to burial*.”—In
 this branch of his subject, the Author founds every step of
 his reasoning upon the evidence of historical facts; referring
 for the most part to the authorities on which they rest, and
 thus making the reader himself the judge of the weight and
 credit to be ascribed to them, and of their aptitude to sup-
 port his speculative conclusions †.

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The

* *Sketches of the History of Man*, Book III. Sk. ii. sect. 2.

† It must be owned, however, that the Author is not always so careful in this respect as he ought to have been. Many facts which occurred in the course of his reading, seem to have been entered in his common-place book without a reference to the authors from whom they are taken.

BOOK III.
 Principles of
 Theology.

The last division of the work embraces the *Principles and Progress of Theology*. In this important inquiry, although the Author's propensity to multiply instinctive principles is visible in the very first step of his investigation, the error, (for it is palpably such), is not of any serious consequence to the subsequent reasoning. It matters little whether that great truth, the existence of a Deity, rest for its evidence upon an innate sense, common to man with the ordinary affections of his nature, or whether it be the result of a process of reasoning so simple, as to present itself invariably to the mind, with the first developement of its rational powers. The latter was the Author's opinion, in common with other philosophers, when he treated this subject in his early work, the *Essays on Morality and Natural Religion*: And it were certainly to be wished, that he had preserved an uniformity of sentiment, rather than indulged a new supposition; which, though not at variance with the other, is liable to the strongest objections, and has, therefore, all the impropriety that attends the defence of a good cause by a weak argument*. On due consideration, every thinking mind must be convinced, that the existence of a Deity is not an intuitive proposition, resting on a similar basis with the evidence of our personal identity, or our belief of the existence of external objects.

* What is here said refers to the early editions of the *Essays on Morality*; for, in the third edition of that work, the Author adopts the notion of an intuitive sense of Deity.

objects. It is the result of a process of reasoning ; but that of the simplest kind, and founded on premises which are self-evident, and belong to the class of *first principles*. The reasoning is no more than this : Every thing which has had a beginning of existence must have had a cause : and a combination of means adapted to produce a great variety of useful ends, implies wisdom, power and benevolence.

It is the more surprising, that the acute understanding of the Author should have failed to perceive the complete sufficiency of this moral evidence for the existence of a Deity, and should have thought it necessary to call in the weak aid of a disputable principle, when we find him employing one of the most beautiful illustrations that is any where to be met with, of that simple and natural process of reasoning, which operates even in the rudest minds to produce this universally diffused belief. He relates, on the evidence of Crantz, in his *History of Greenland*, the following conversation between a native of that country and a Danish missionary. “ It is true,” (says the Greenlander), “ we were ignorant heathens, and knew little of a God, till you came. “ But you must not imagine, that no Greenlander thinks about these things. A *kajak*, (a Greenland boat), with all its tackle and implements, cannot exist, but by the labour of man ; and one who does not understand it, would spoil it : But the meanest bird requires more skill than the best *kajak* ; and no man can make a bird. There is “ still

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“ still more skill required to make a man : By whom then
 “ was he made? He proceeded from his parents, and they
 “ from their parents. But some must have been the first
 “ parents: Whence did they proceed? Common report
 “ says that they grew out of the earth: If, so, why do not
 “ men still grow out of the earth? And from whence came
 “ the earth itself, the sun, the moon, the stars? Certainly
 “ there must be some Being who made all these things, a
 “ Being more wise than the wisest man.”

If the belief of a Deity could thus arise, by so natural and simple a chain of reasoning, as would occur at least to the greater number of rational beings, even in the rudest period of society, how could the Author feel himself at a loss to account for the universal diffusion of that belief among mankind; since the weakest and the most ignorant would, from that very ignorance and weakness, be the more prone to adopt implicitly, and acquiesce with reverence in, the belief of the wiser?

Progress of
Theology.

But admitting, as we certainly must do, that the fundamental proposition, the existence of a Deity, is sufficiently proved, though the Author may have called in to his aid a superfluous and weak argument, every step in the succeeding deduction is traced by him with consummate skill and precision. We perceive distinctly the natural progress of human opinion with respect to the Deity, as influenced at
 first

first by the condition of rude and uninstructed man, and debased or improved by the operation of those circumstances which either retard or advance his civilization, and the enlargement of his mental powers. The belief of Polytheism, the first stage in rude Theology ; the belief of malevolent deities ; of distinct orders of good and evil deities ; of such as partake of the human passions, and are like them of a mixed character, of good and evil ; are all the result of the condition of that society in which they are observed to prevail. Even after mankind have arrived at that degree of improvement, when an uniformity of belief takes place with respect to the great truths of Religion, the existence of a Supreme Being, and his infinite power, wisdom and beneficence ; the varying sentiments entertained with regard to the most acceptable service and worship of that Almighty Being, which involve the consideration of sacrifices, oblations, penances, and all the subordinate train of opinions which give rise to various sects even in the same nation, and furnish endless matter of theological controversy, are the natural and necessary effects of political situation, or the fruit of accidental circumstances influencing the state of manners, habits, or prejudices of a people.

The final inference which the Author draws from this detail of the progress of opinions with respect to the Deity, is equally the proof of a humane and of an enlightened mind. Toleration in matters of religion, is a moral duty of the highest

BOOK III.

est order, and of universal obligation on the human race. The sublime prayer of Arnobius, is the true expression of the devotion of weak and erring man to his Creator: *Da veniam, Rex Supreme, tuos persequentibus famulos; et quod tuæ benignitatis est proprium, fugientibus ignosce tui nominis et religionis cultum. Non est mirum si ignoraris; majoris est admirationis si sciaris*!*

CHAP.

* “ Forgive, Almighty Power, the persecutors of thy servants; and in the peculiar benevolence of thy nature, pardon those men, whose unhappiness it is to be strangers to thy name and worship. That they should be ignorant of thy Divine Nature, is less the subject of wonder, than that any finite being should presume to know Thee aright!”

CHAPTER VI.

Controversial antagonists of Lord Kames's Philosophy of Man.—Dr Doig's Letters on the Savage State.—Lord Kames's acquaintance with the Author.—Reflections on Literary Disputes—and on the spirit which influences Literary Opinions—and Criticism.—Letter from Dr Blair on Sketches of Man.—On Lord Kames's style and manner of writing.

As the primary doctrine of Lord Kames's philosophy is, that the *savage state* was the original condition of man, in every part of the globe, and that all his advances to improvement and civilization have taken place through the gradual operation of the instinctive principles of his nature, his opinions, as might have been expected, found many opponents. Among these, one of the most ingenious, and beyond all question the most learned, was Dr DOIG of Stirling; who, in *Two Letters on the Savage State*, addressed to Lord Kames, entered into a profound investigation of his hypothesis of the universality of that original condition of man; which he endeavoured to shew, was neither founded on the opinions of the ancient writers most worthy of credit, nor on the evi-

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Controversial antagonists of Lord Kames's Philosophy of Man.

Dr Doig's Letters on the Savage State.

dence of history ; while, at the same time, it derived no support, from what we know, of the actual progress of man in knowledge and in the arts.

Dr Doig observes, that if the opinions of ancient writers are to have weight in a question of fact, the degree of weight must depend altogether on the character of the writers. If, therefore, on the one hand, the notion of the original savage state of man is found to be countenanced by Mochus, Sanchoniatho, and some of the old Phœnician cosmogonists, who maintained those atheistical doctrines, which were afterwards adopted by Democritus and Epicurus ; that scale of the balance is altogether outweighed by the authorities for the opposite opinion ; namely, all the best of the Greek philosophers, those of both Academies, the sages of the Italian and Alexandrian Schools, the Magi of Persia, the Bramins of India, and the Druids of Gaul.—If we appeal to actual History, the sacred books are decisive to the contrary of the hypothesis in question ; and the evidence of the profane historians is equally positive to the same effect. The more extensive and populous of the ancient kingdoms, appear cultivated and improved at the commencement of their historical records ; therefore, their antecedent barbarism can rest only on conjecture. The rudiments of Learning, Religion, Laws, Arts and Sciences, seem, among the nations of antiquity, to have diverged from two great points, the one on the banks of the Euphrates, the other on the Nile ; and
in

in proportion to their distance from those *foci* of illumination, the ancient nations appear to have been civilized or barbarous. But whence did those favoured regions receive their superior knowledge? The answer is, They possessed it from the beginning of all things, as a gift of the Creator.

To this, which may be termed the historic branch of the argument, the learned writer superadds a great deal of ingenious reasoning, founded on analogy, and on the known progress of the human mind. He remarks, that no nation once known to be barbarous, has ever emerged from that state by the sole operation of its native energies, and without foreign aid. The corresponding proof is found in those great tribes of savages discovered in modern times, who, in the possession of every advantage of climate and soil, are yet in a state of barbarism, and have been so from the beginning of time; no traces existing of an anterior period of civilization. If man, as some philosophers maintain, be every where the same animal, and endowed with the same original instincts, his advancement in similar circumstances must have been uniform and universal: but the fact, we know, is otherwise. In every nation of savages, there appears a repugnance to civilization: if forced upon them, they relapse when that force is withdrawn; and it is only by conquest and colonization, the improved thus incorporating with the barbarous, that a savage people ever makes advances to refinement.

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BOOK III.

In support of the positions contained in the historical part of the preceding deduction, the writer appealed to the testimony of a great number of ancient authors ; not only those in familiar use, and with whom every man of letters is acquainted, but many of the more abstruse of the philologers, grammarians and historians, who have treated particularly of oriental literature and antiquities, and whose writings have been explored only by a very few of the profoundly learned among the moderns.

Lord Kames' acquaintance with the Author.

These letters were written without the most distant view to publication ; and the first of them, dated from Stirling, but without the subscription of the writer, being transmitted to Lord Kames, who was then passing the Christmas vacation at Blair-Drummond, his curiosity was roused to discover the author of a composition which bore evidence of a most uncommon degree of learning and ingenuity. In conversing on the subject with an intimate friend, Dr Graham Moir of Leckie, a gentleman of taste and erudition, and of great scientific knowledge, who frequently visited him in the country, his Lordship producing the letter of his anonymous correspondent, " In the name of wonder," said he, " Doctor, what prodigy of learning have you got in the town of Stirling; who is capable of writing this letter, which I received a few days ago?" The Doctor, after glancing over a few pages, answered : " I think I know him.—There is but one man who is able to write this letter ; and a most extraordinary

“ extraordinary man he is ;—David Doig, the master of our Grammar School.”——“ What !” said Lord Kames ; “ A genius of this kind, within a few miles of my house, and I never to have heard of him ! And a fine fellow too : he tells his mind roundly and plainly : I love him for that :—he does not spare me : I respect him the more.—You must make us acquainted, my good Doctor : I will write him a card ; and to-morrow, if you please, you shall bring him to dine with me.” The interview took place accordingly ; and to the mutual satisfaction of the parties. The subject of their controversy was freely and amply discussed ; and though neither could boast of making a convert of his antagonist, a cordial friendship took place from that day, and a literary correspondence began, which suffered no interruption during their joint lives *.——The *Letters on the Savage*

* DR DAVID DOIG was the son of a small farmer in the county of Angus. His father died when he was an infant ; and it was his good fortune that his mother entered into a second marriage with a worthy man, who, though in very moderate circumstances, and soon burdened with a young family of his own, discharged to him the duty of an affectionate parent. From a constitutional defect of eye-sight, he was twelve years of age before he had learnt to read : but as his intellects were uncommonly quick, he had no sooner overcome that difficulty, than he made so rapid a progress, that after three years instruction of a parish-schoolmaster, in Latin, writing, and arithmetic, he presented himself a candidate for a bursary, or endowment for poor scholars, in the University of St Andrew's, and obtained it, on a comparative trial of his abilities with other competitors. Having finished with great approbation the usual

Savage State were not printed till 1792, several years after the death of Lord Kames.

The

usual course of philosophy and classical learning, he took the degree of Bachelor of Arts, and entered on the study of Divinity. Certain conscientious scruples, however, regarding some articles of the Westminster Confession of Faith, which is framed according to the principles of the most rigid Calvinism, prevented the prosecution of his views of entering into the Church. He taught for several years the parish-schools of Monifeith in Angus, and Kennoway and Falkland in Fife; when, on a vacancy of the mastership of the Grammar School of Stirling, his reputation as a teacher procured him an appointment from the Magistrates of the town to that office; which he discharged for forty years with the greatest ability, and with the respect and esteem of all who knew him. It is a fact somewhat remarkable, that he received on the same day, a diploma of Master of Arts from his *Alma Mater* of St Andrew's, and an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws from the University of Glasgow. In addition to the most profound knowledge of the Greek and Latin languages, which he wrote with a classical purity, Dr Doig had successfully studied the Hebrew, Arabic, and other kindred dialects, and was deeply versed in Oriental literature. He has given an abundant proof of his proficiency in those studies, in the Dissertations on the subjects of *Mythology*, *Mysteries*, and *Philology*, which were composed by him for the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, at the request of his intimate friend, and the companion of his social hours, the Reverend Dr George Gleig, the able and ingenious editor of the latter volumes of that great work, and the author of many of its most valuable articles. That part of the work which contains the article on Philology, was published in London in the same week with a *Dissertation on the Greek Verb* by Dr Vincent, now Dean of Westminster, who was so struck with the coincidence of Dr Doig's opinions on many points with his own, that he began an epistolary correspondence with the author; and these two eminent scholars went hand in hand in their researches, and in a free communication

The circumstances above detailed, are characteristic of an enlarged and liberal mind; without a tincture of that mean jealousy and resentment, which, to the disgrace of literature, are but too commonly felt by authors, and those not unfrequently of the highest literary reputation, towards their antagonists

CHAP. VI.

Reflections
on literary
disputes.

tion of their opinions, with a liberality of sentiment which did honour to both. Such likewise was the conduct of the learned Mr Bryant, who had entered into a correspondence with Dr Doig on the subject of Ancient Mythology *. Dr Doig died in March 1800, at the age of 81. Besides his great erudition, the elegance of his taste was shewn in his favourite amusement, the composition of many small poetical pieces, both in English and Latin. Those of an epigrammatic turn are peculiarly excellent. The following elegiac stanzas, written by him on the subject of his own life and studies, and which were engraven on a marble monument, erected to his memory at the expence of the community of Stirling, would have done honour to the pen of a Markham, a Vincent Bourne, or even a Buchanan :

Edidici quædam, perlegi plura, notavi
Paucula, cum domino mox peritura suo.
Lubrica Pieriæ tentarem præmia palmæ,
Credulus, ingenio heu nimis alta meo.
Extincto famam ruituro crescere saxo
Posse putem, vivo quæ mihi nulla fuit !

The Writer of these Memoirs is happy to embrace this opportunity of paying a small tribute of respect to the memory of a man whom he esteemed and honoured; and whose correspondence for several years, in the latter part of his life, was a source to him of the most rational pleasure and instruction.

* Among other proofs of the profound learning of Dr Doig, is a Dissertation *On the Ancient Hellenes*, printed in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. iii.

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tagonists in controversy, or the opponents of their particular opinions. From the manner in which literary disputes are commonly conducted, it would seem, that a man of letters regards every topic which he has successfully handled, as a province subdued and annexed to his own dominion; which, therefore, it is an act of hostile aggression in any other to presume to enter, without acknowledging his sovereignty; and nothing less than treason, to dispute his laws, or question his absolute authority. It is in vain that we talk of a republic of letters. If the extent of the territory forbids the pretensions of a single individual to universal dominion, we observe in general a few heads, who establish a most tyrannical oligarchy, and rule, each in his own department, with the most despotic sway. Nay, such is the prevalence of the spirit of tyrannizing, that it pervades every rank of the subjects; and those who humbly bow to the supremacy of the chief, avenge themselves for that degrading tribute, by exacting from their inferiors a like servile submission. But to leave metaphor: the sources of the jealousies and animosities of literary men, are the evil passions of pride and envy. Every intellectual achievement is apt to increase the self-esteem of the accomplisher: his merits, if acknowledged by a part of the public, swell his pride; and if denied or diminished by others, inflame his resentment. His portion of fame, however high, is seldom adequate to his own estimate of desert; and all whose talents have met with higher reward, or even whom a tide of fortune has elevated above him,

him, are the objects of his spleen and envy. This is a disagreeable aspect of human nature, and we willingly turn from it to a more grateful subject of contemplation ;—a man of high literary merit, who had not a taint of unbecoming pride, nor a spark of envy in his composition.

It would be idle to say, that this eminent person was unconscious of the talents which he possessed, or was deficient in that proper degree of self-esteem; the natural consequence of the respect which his character drew from the public: but no man ever formed his judgment of the merit of others with more perfect candour, or more liberally bestowed his praise on every species of desert, whether shewn in the works of literature, or in any department, even the humblest, of general usefulness. This beautiful feature of his character was not founded in a humane feeling alone: it had with him, in some degree, the sanction of a moral duty. If praise be the just reward of merit, it is an act of positive injustice to withhold that recompence, when it is truly due. To this breach of morality every one is awake, when he is himself the person defrauded; but he is not so conscious of the fault, when the reward withheld was due to another. We daily meet with many persons of discernment, and even of worth and honourable feelings, who, though sensible to the merit of others, and highly approving of it in their own mind, yet cannot freely or voluntarily bestow their praise; who never part with it but when extorted; and even then,

.. VOL. II. T dispense

And on the spirit which influences literary opinions,—

BOOK III.

dispense it in such scanty pittance, and with so bad a grace, that it loses all its value. There cannot be a surer indication of a little mind, than that inordinate self-love, which thus magnifies the consequence of its own judgments, overrates the value of its praise, and grudges to bestow a boon, which, though taking nothing from the giver, it conceives to be of the highest importance to the receiver. Most justly are such the objects of the poet's satire, who

Unborn to cherish, sneakingly approve,
And want the soul to spread the worth they love.

How opposite to his character, who delighted to cherish worth, in whatever form it appeared, and to rouse, by liberal praise, the fire of genius; who candidly made allowance for different modes of thinking in all matters of opinion; and on whom the opposition to his own particular doctrines, produced no other effect, than a favourable regard for all engaged in a common cause, the search of truth! On this head, it may seem superfluous to add, what, in fact, appears a necessary consequence,—that he took no pleasure in exposing the faults, or in displaying the weaknesses of others. If apparent, they were the subject of regret; if doubtful, of the most candid interpretation. He abhorred detraction in all its forms; and with the highest relish for wit, no ingenuity in the conception of a sarcastic jest, no poignancy of ridicule, if tinctured with malignity, could ever draw from him a smile of approbation. It was this amiable peculiarity

ty of temper, which the author of a short but judicious memoir of his life, has particularly noticed, and marked by a most appropriate epithet, "the innocency of his mind*."

From the same source from which arose his liberal and humane opinions of human character and conduct, proceeded the candid judgments which he formed of the works of literature. In the whole range of those ample discussions, in which he has exercised the utmost freedom of critical judgment, in canvassing the opinions of numberless authors, both on subjects of taste, and of political and moral sentiment, he has never on any occasion given way to the slightest sarcasm or personality. There is not to be found, in the whole of his voluminous writings, a single sentence which breathes a spirit of acrimony, or is marked by that asperity of censure, which, to the disgrace of the literary character, too often usurps the honourable name of Criticism, and gratifies its own malevolence in a shameful sacrifice to the worst passions of a corrupted public. That, in common with all authors whose merit is considerable enough to draw any share of the public applause †, he had his share of illiberal

—And criticism.

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criticism,

* *Literary and Characteristic Lives*, by WILLIAM SMELLIE, F. A. S. Edin. "Life of Lord Kames." The short Sketch of Lord Kames's Life by Mr Smellie, was first published in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*.

† "Malheur en effèt à l'ecrivain dont la malignité humaine feroit assez
" peu de cas, pour le laisser jouir en paix de sa grande ou petite renommée :

" il

BOOK III.

criticism, is known to every reader acquainted with the lively railleries of VOLTAIRE, or the cold, but cutting sarcasms of WARBURTON, against all who dissented from their particular opinions, or opposed their prejudices *. He incurred the hatred of the one, as a supposed sceptical writer, and the malice of the other, for having presumed to censure the *Henriade*, and dared to exalt Shakespeare, in the comparison with Racine and Corneille, as possessing a superior knowledge of human nature. It is well known, that Voltaire, at first the highest encomiast of the English Poet, (though never capable of duly estimating his merits), became in the end deeply jealous of that increasing reputation with his countrymen, which threatened to obscure his own,—a sufficient cause of enmity against Lord Kames, one of the most enlightened of Shakespeare's panegyrists and critics. But these angry shafts of prejudice or malignity, fell harmless, and short of their aim. They gave no disturbance to his equal mind, who never deigned to notice them, either in discourse or writing; and assuredly they have produced as little impression on the mind of the public.

Of

“ il pourroit même, sans un grand raffinement d'amour propre, être humilié
 “ de cette bienveillance dédaigneuse, et se plaindre de ne faire à personne
 “ assez d'ombrage pour mériter au moins un ennemi.”—D'ALEMBERT *Eloge*
de M. de St Aulaire.

* See Appendix, NO. III.

Of a very different spirit was the free, but candid criticism of the ingenuous BLAIR, who, in the following letter, gives every praise that he thought truly due to the merits of the work to which he refers; while he censures without scruple, but in the mild and temperate tone, so characteristic of his mind, whatever appeared to him faulty or defective.

“ MY DEAR LORD,

Edinburgh, April 2. 1774.

“ I write to return you thanks for the pleasure and instruction you have afforded me in the perusal of your *Sketches of Man*. You have touched on a very great variety of subjects; and on them all have suggested many ingenious and many useful thoughts. On some subjects, particularly of public concern; such as Finances, Poor-Laws, and the Military, you have done a great deal to remove inveterate prejudices, and to give openings which may lead to many improvements. The variety of facts and examples you have collected, is immense. I am sensible it was not to be expected, that you could authenticate them all. In such a multitude of instances, one must sometimes quote from memory. Probably, when you began to make these collections, you did not see the occasion for referring to all your authorities. Yet I could have wished, that where it was in your power, more authorities had been quoted, as they would have given your reasoning more weight; and the frequent want

Letter from
Dr Blair on
*Sketches of
Man.*

want of them, is one of the greatest objections I find made to your work.

“ Your theology is decent, unexceptionable, and even, in my view, pious. It is still doubtful with me, whether the belief of a Deity may not be accounted for without a separate sense : First, from fear operating on savages, and leading them to think of invisible power ; and then from the sense of cause and effect, as mankind gradually refine :— especially, as you admit that malevolent deities were first recognized ; and that it was only in the progress of society, that benevolent powers were acknowledged.

“ *Quer.*—To what is the belief of the immortality of the soul, or of a state after death, to be attributed ; which I take to be as universal among mankind, as the belief of Deity ? You do not touch upon this. If universality infers a *sense* as the *cause* of belief, why not this, as well as the other ? How far is that universality an argument of the truth of this doctrine ?

“ You have exceedingly well explained and accounted for Idolatry. But what were the real sentiments of the Greeks and Romans, concerning their deified men, Jupiter, Juno, Bacchus, Venus, &c. You treat of these, only in the view of shewing how gross their theology was. But a difficulty which has often perplexed me lies here : Did they in truth believe

believe the ridiculous stories concerning these gods, and their various actions? Was it possible they could have any serious sense of these gods, or pay any serious worship to them; whilst, as you shew, on many occasions, they treated them with contempt, and even exposed them to ridicule on the stage? Aristophanes, and even Plautus, is full of buffoonery on the gods. The latter instance is the more remarkable; for the Romans were one of the most religious of nations. Their Senate never assembled without religious rites. Their writers take notice, that as respect for religion declined, their virtue and their prosperity declined also. One would think that none but children could believe their absurd tales concerning their gods, or entertain any respect for such characters; and yet they formed the basis of a religion which Consuls and Senators revered. Such a glaring contradiction never appeared in any enlightened age. In one view, you would think that the Greeks and Romans only laughed at their gods; at other times you see them full of reverence for them. I own I know not what to make of their religion*.

“ Liberty

* The general belief which prevailed with respect to the origin of many of the heathen deities, namely, that they were human beings, who, for their signal services on earth, had been translated to the skies,—*Quid? totum propitium. nonne humano genere completum est? Ipsi Dei. majorum gentium a nobis profecti*, (Cic. *Tusc. Disp.* l. 1.),—is sufficient to account for the notion of their still retaining the human passions, and a considerable portion of human weakness

BOOK III

“Liberty and Necessity seem to me extremely well brought out ; and as well reconciled with our moral feelings as they can admit to be.

“The account of Aristotle’s Logic was a happy thought. It is well executed ; sensible and distinct. I wish very much that we had some such account of the other parts of the Aristotelian Philosophy. It would be an excellent object for some man of erudition ; and would be well relished by all the curious.

“The chapter on Women is an excellent one : particularly the account which you give of the connexion betwixt a
dos

weakness and imperfection. Such would naturally be the creed of the ignorant part of mankind ; but that it was not that of the wiser, we have the testimony of the same author, who arraigns this belief, of the passions, vices and imperfections of the gods, as the consummation of folly and absurdity.

“*Quæ res genuit falsas opiniones, errores turbulentos, et superstitiones pentaniles. Omnia traducta ad similitudinem imbecillitatis humanæ,—Deorum cupiditates, ægritudines, iracundias ; nec verò, ut fabulæ ferunt, bellis prælisque caruerunt : hæc et dicuntur et creduntur stultissimè, et plena sunt futilitatis, summæque levitatis.*”—*De Nat. Deor. lib. ii.* Was it, then, at all surprising that this futility and folly, as Cicero terms it, should become an object of ridicule to the enlightened Poets and Moralists ? The railleries of Aristophanes and Plautus, and Lucian, on the vices of the gods, were nothing more than a satirical censure of the vulgar creed, which deserved all the ridicule they could throw on it : for what could be more hurtful to morality, than the belief that those beings to whom men paid divine honours, were as wicked and profligate as themselves ?

dos on the man's side, inferring polygamy, and the slavery of women; and *a.dos* on the woman's side, inferring good treatment of her. In one thing, however, I was disappointed; in not finding more illustration of the effect, which the manners of chivalry in the middle ages had on the treatment of women. These seem to me the foundation of all that we now call Gallantry, or respect paid to the sex; which is altogether a novel thing, and quite unknown to the ancients, among whom women were the objects only of love, or of animal passion; whereas, separated from either of these, a woman, even old or ugly, yet in the company of men, in modern times, is treated as a superior, and entitled to respect. That this strange alteration of manners should have arisen in a wild and a barbarous state of society throughout Europe, when chivalry began to idolize and worship the sex, appears to me a very remarkable phenomenon*.

“ You

* Gallantry, or the respect paid to women, independently of passion, though certainly more generally diffused in modern times, and become more a branch of manners, is by no means to be regarded, as this ingenious writer here observes, “ as a novel thing, and quite unknown to the ancients.” I will draw no argument from that singularity of the manners of the Greeks, among whom their courtezans, (significantly termed *Ἐραίαι*), attained from their superior mental endowments, a degree of respect and esteem from a Pericles, an Aristippus, and even a Socrates, which would never have been paid to their personal

BOOK III.

“ You show indeed the seeds of this in the Scandinavian manners with respect to women ; and you have given thereby an excellent illustration and justification of the authenticity of *Ossian's Poetry* : I think that a very curious part of your labours. But chivalry spread this respect to women much farther than among the Scandinavians. We find it in the dark ages in Spain, Italy and France ; the South as well as the North of Europe ; which makes it, in my opinion, a remarkable æra in the history of women in general, and the men's behaviour towards them.

“ The

personal attractions. The conversation that passed at the house of an *Aspasia*, and of a *Ninon de l'Enclos*, was alike the model of well-bred gallantry. The character of the Roman matrons in the best times of the Republic, and in the early ages of the empire, was high and respectable ; and the well-born women of those times, sensible equally with the men to the generous pride of ancestry, were not only studious to maintain the character of their family, in point of moral virtues, but by every endowment of the mind, to render themselves worthy of the esteem and confidence of their husbands, the chiefs of their country. And they enjoyed that esteem and confidence. The state of manners, it is true, did not allow that mixed society of the sexes, which is the characteristic of polished life in modern times ; and, of course, what is now termed the *language of gallantry*, may, with truth, be deemed a *modern improvement* : “ *Cet esprit si à la mode, qui joint l'exagération à la fausseté, et qui consiste à dire aux femmes avec un esprit léger et une âme de glace, tout ce qu'on ne croit pas, et tout ce qu'on voudroit leur faire croire.* ” — M. THOMAS *sur les Femmes*. Of this refinement of manners, the moderns without doubt may claim the exclusive merit.

CHAR. VI.
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“ The necessity and advantages of the *Dissocial Passions*, in the first Sketch of Book II., I think excellently brought out, and happily illustrated by the Jesuits’ government in Paraguay. This appeared to me a capital *morceau*. It convinced me fully, that agitation of passion is necessary to man, and that a golden age would be his ruin.

“ The chapters on Food, Population, Commerce, Origin of Arts, were also very entertaining to me. I still think the first chapter of your book, one of the most unsatisfactory in it: You know I always hesitated about it. Nothing appears to me to be built upon it. You seem fond of proving, against Buffon, that Man is not every where the same animal; but of a different race and different *species*, according as you find him cowardly or courageous, hospitable or cruel to strangers; and yet, in the progress of your work, you treat man as every where a creature of the same species; and from uniform principles and causes, you account for the variations of his manner of living, opinions, affections, &c. which you had not ground to do, if the creature of whom you treated was different in kind, in different parts of the globe. Now, if the animal concerning whom you were to speculate, was every where an animal of the same species, of what consequence was it to your speculations, whether the black and the white, the Samoied and the Hottentot, were originally derived from the first pair, or were separate-

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BOOK III

ly created? This chapter, it seems to me, might have been wanting, with less consequence to your book than any other chapter in it *.

“ I have thrown together some of the thoughts that occurred to me in reading. Whether they may suggest any thing worthy of your reflection, I cannot say. They will shew you, however, that I have been reading you with some attention, and that I write to you with the freedom of an old friend.—I am always, with the highest respect, my Lord, your most affectionate and obedient servant,

HUGH BLAIR.”

On Lord
Kames' style
and manner
of writing.

It seems here a proper place, after the notice of the most extensive, and, in point of subject, the most important of the Author's works, to make a few remarks on his style and manner of writing.

I have already observed, that it is not in the language or diction, but in the matter and substance, that the merit of Lord Kames's writings chiefly consists. That style was an object of his attention, is indeed proved by the numerous alterations in grammatical arrangement, and changes of expression,

* The respectable writer is not singular in this opinion; and his argument to shew, that this preliminary disquisition was at least unnecessary to the train of the Author's subsequent speculations, is invincible.

pression, in every new edition of his several works*. Yet with all the pains he bestowed on their revisal, and the attention which it is evident, from his critical disquisitions, he gave

* In a late excellent work, *The Life of Dr Beattie*, by Sir WILLIAM FORBES, is a letter of the former to Lord Glenbervie, in which are some very just observations on the difficulties which a Scottish writer experiences in attaining to the art of writing the English language with ease and correctness. There was perhaps no writer of this country better qualified to point out those difficulties than Dr Beattie, as there is none who has more happily surmounted them. " The greatest difficulty in acquiring the art of *writing* English, is one which I have seldom heard our countrymen complain of, and " which I was never sensible of, till I had spent some years in labouring to " acquire that art. It is, to give a *vernacular* cast to the English we write. " I must explain myself. We who live in Scotland are obliged to study " English from books, like a dead language. Accordingly, when we write, " we write it like a dead language, which we understand, but cannot " speak ; avoiding, perhaps, all ungrammatical expressions, and even the " barbarisms of our country, but at the same time without communicating " that neatness, ease, and softness of phrase, which appear so conspicuously " in Addison, Lord Lyttelton, and other elegant English authors. Our style " is stately and unwieldy, and clogs the tongue in pronunciation, and smells " of the lamp. We are slaves to the language we write, and are continually " afraid of committing *gross* blunders ; and, when an easy, familiar, idiomatic phrase occurs, dare not adopt it, if we recollect no authority, for fear " of Scotticisms. In a word, *we* handle English, as a person who cannot " fence handles a sword ; continually afraid of hurting ourselves with it, or " letting it fall, or making some awkward motion that shall betray our ignorance. An English author of learning is the master, not the slave, of " his language, and wields it gracefully, because he wields it with ease, " and

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gave to the study of language, he is far from attaining to the praise of an elegant, or even at all times of a correct writer. He seems to have had no just conception of what constitutes the chief beauty of rhetorical composition ; a variety in the structure of the periods, both with respect to their length, and the order of their component parts, so as to excite pleasure by contrast ; while each is so framed, as separately by its melody to satisfy and fill the ear. His sentences are generally cast in the same mould ; they have little variety in their form and arrangement ; they are commonly too short, seldom consisting of more than one clause or proposition * ;

or

“ and with full assurance that he has the command of it.—In order to get
 “ over this difficulty, which I fear is in some respects insuperable after all,
 “ I have been continually poring upon Addison, the best parts of Swift, Lord
 “ Lyttelton, &c. The ear is of great service in these matters ; and I am
 “ convinced the greater part of Scottish authors hurt their style by admiring
 “ and imitating one another. At Edinburgh, it is currently said by your
 “ critical people, that Hume, Robertson, &c. write English better than the
 “ English themselves ; than which, in my judgment, there cannot be a great-
 “ er absurdity. I would as soon believe that Thuanus wrote better Latin
 “ than Cicero or Cæsar, and that Buchanan was a more elegant poet than
 “ Virgil or Horace. In my rhetorical lectures, and whenever I have occa-
 “ sion to speak on this subject, I always maintain a contrary doctrine, and ad-
 “ vise those to study English authors who would acquire a good English
 “ style.”

* Thus, for example : “ Human nature is not so perverse, as, without veil
 “ or disguise, to punish a person acknowledged to be innocent. An irregular
 “ bias

or if drawn to a greater length, they are often faulty, from an involved construction *. We are not unfrequently offended by a colloquial vulgarity of expression, which it is difficult

“ bias of imagination, which extends the qualities of the principal to its accessories, paves the way to that unjust practice. That bias, strengthened by indignation, against an atrocious criminal, leads the mind hastily to conclude, that all his connexions are partakers of his guilt. In an enlightened age, the clearness of moral principles fetters the imagination, from confounding the innocent with the guilty. There remain traces, however, of that bias, though not carried so far as murder.”—*Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 324. 4to edition. A reader of taste must be sensible of a displeasing monotony in this string of sentences of a like form; all of the simplest structure, nearly of equal length, and none of them satisfying the ear by the melody of a well-ordered period.

* “ In the temperate climates of the old world, there is a great uniformity in the gradual progress of men, from the savage state to the highest civilization; beginning with hunting and fishing, advancing to flocks and herds, and thereafter to agriculture and commerce.”—*Sketches*, vol. ii. p. 82. In this sentence there are three different substantive nouns, *uniformity*, *progress* and *civilization*, any one of which, as the period here stands, may be made to agree with the participle *beginning*. There is also an inaccuracy, or at least an unpleasant ambiguity, in the construction of the latter clause of the period. To render the construction correct, the latter part of the sentence ought to have run thus: “ A progress which begins with hunting and fishing, advances to flocks and herds, (or to pasturage), and thence proceeds to agriculture and commerce.” There is a similar incorrectness in the construction of the following sentence: “ Here it is taken for granted, that we see external objects, and that we see them with both eyes in the same

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difficult to account for on the supposition of carelessness, and which probably the Author has mistaken for an ease and freedom of composition, or imagined to give a pleasing variety. "Selfishness, engrossing the whole soul, eradicates patriotism, and leaves not a *cranny* for social virtue."—*Sketches*, vol. i. p. 272. "If Qssian paint from fancy, the *cloven-foot* will appear."—*Ib.* p. 285. "To enter *blindly*, on a subject of such intricacy, might *gravel* an acute philosopher."—*Ib.* p. 141. "But it is *irksome to trudge long*, in a beaten track familiar to all the world; and, therefore, leaving what is said above, like a statue, *curtailed of legs and arms*, I hasten to the history of the fine arts."—*Ib.* p. 117. "I shall *draw out of my budget* one instance."—Pref. to *Elucidations*, p. 10. These are instances of a vulgarity and lowness of diction which must offend every reader of good taste.

A greater fault still, and which surprises yet more than it offends, in a writer whose sentiments breathe the purest morality, is a degree of coarseness and indelicacy of expression; for

"same place; inadvertently, it must be acknowledged, as it flatly contradicts what he had been all along inculcating, that external objects are not visible, otherwise than in imagination."—*Essays on Morality*, p. 276. 3d edition. So likewise in this sentence: "Benevolence and kindly affection are too refined for savages, unless of the simplest kind, such as the ties of blood."—*Sketches*, vol. i. p. 270.

for which one is altogether at a loss to account ; unless, perhaps, on the supposition, that the ingenuous mind of the Author was truly insensible of that indelicacy ; as the naked Indian is unconscious that his garb of nature can offend the chastest eye. And, for my own part, I am disposed to believe, that the Author was truly unconscious of the fault here alluded to. In a book intended, as he tells us, to be a popular work, and calculated for the perusal of the Ladies, (his *Sketches of the History of Man*), how is it possible otherwise to account for the indelicacy of many parts of his chapter on *Manners*, and of that which details *The Progress of the Female Sex* ? “To the pure, all things are pure.”—Yet, after all, I have much doubt whether the generality of his readers will have the charity to account for the blemish here remarked, upon so refined a principle as that now supposed.

One circumstance in Lord Kames's manner of writing is, I think, deserving of notice, as being in a great measure peculiar to himself ; the frequent reference he makes to the progress of his own mind in thinking and composing. He acquaints his reader of the task which he has set to himself ; describes his feeling of the difficulties that lie in his way ; lays down his plan for encountering them ; marks his advances as he goes on, his hopes of success, his fears, his partial disappointments, his renewed attempts ; and finally, pro-

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claims

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claims his triumph on the accomplishment of his purpose*. This peculiarity of manner, though rather unsuitable to a grave and dignified subject, and frequently displaying too much of egotism in the writer, is sometimes neither useless nor displeasing. It keeps the attention awake by repeated admonitions; it relieves the irksomeness of an abstruse speculation

* "I give notice to my reader that I am now ready to enter upon the rules of arrangement. Instead of a painful and tedious examination of passions and emotions, I propose to confine my inquiries to such attributes, relations and circumstances in the fine arts, as are chiefly employed to raise agreeable emotions. Attributes of single objects shall take the lead, to be followed with particulars, which, depending on relations, are not found in single objects. Dispatching next some coincident matters, I proceed to my chief aim, which is, to establish practical rules for the fine arts, derived from principles previously established. This is a general view of the intended method, reserving, however, a privilege to vary it in particular instances where a deviation may be commodious. I begin with Beauty."—"In adhering close to the subject, I foresee difficulties; and yet by indulging such a circuit as may be necessary, I shall certainly incur the censure of wandering. Be it so; the dread of censure is nothing in opposition to what is right."—"We are now prepared for examples of pleasant passions that are disagreeable, and of painful passions that are agreeable.—One specimen being a fine illustration, shall be our present entertainment."—"In order to fulfil my engagement, it must be premised, that an agreeable cause produces always a pleasant emotion."—"Having therefore happily unravelled the knotty part, I proceed with alacrity to what remains."—*Elements of Criticism, passim*.—"I cheerfully spread my sails in a wide ocean, not without hopes of importing precious merchandize.—And now I present my reader with the fruits of my labour."—*Sketches of the History of Man*, vol. i. p. 308.

culatation by its tone of familiarity ; and it gives the reader an interest in the subject, by making him in some measure a partner with the Author in his enterprize, and a sharer in his discoveries.

The truth is, that many of Lord Kames's compositions bear evidence, that they are not the offspring of a previous deep acquaintance with the subject on which he had prepared to write ; but are rather the detail of his investigations on a topic in some degree new to him, and of which he had resolved to make himself master. They are like the record of a chemist's experiments, who, from the success or failure of his processes, and a series of well-directed combinations and analyses, establishes general principles, and at length brings out an ingenious system or theory of his branch of science. That such was truly his method of study and composition, he was at no pains to conceal ; but, on the contrary, recommended it to his literary pupils. The late Sir Gilbert Elliot once complaining to him that he understood very little of some particular subject of political economy, and expressing an earnest wish for information ; " Shall I tell you, my friend, (said the other), how you will come to understand it? Go, and write a book upon it."

I have often thought, that the Author's manner of writing took its character in some degree from his profession. It was his custom always to dictate his compositions to an ama-

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nuensis.

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nuensis. His disquisitions have much the air of a pleading or an oration: he generally speaks in the first person: he makes frequent apostrophes, as an orator to his audience; appeals to the judgment or the feelings of his reader; and, from time to time, arouses him by a direct call upon his attention, as if he suspected it to be wandering. He frequently supposes an antagonist pleading against him, and supporting with ingenuity the opposite side of the dispute: he puts a home question; presses a point conceded by his opponent; allows the weight of some of his arguments; corrects mistakes, as scorning to take an unfair advantage; but never fails in the end to claim a complete victory*. This gives a sort of dramatic interest to his reasonings, which, even when employed on the most abstruse subjects, are seldom apt to fatigue his readers; but convey profound instruction, without the formality and the dryness of a professed lecture.—On the whole, if we cannot, consistently with impartial criticism, admit, that Lord Kames is either

* “To do my antagonist all justice, I grant.”—“But in a matter of so great importance, I cannot rest satisfied with a successful defence; I aim at a complete victory.”—“To relieve myself from the languid uniformity of a continued defence, I will on this occasion change hands, and try my fortune in making an attack.”—“I come now to the point, by putting a plain question.”—“But not satisfied with reducing my opponent to this dilemma, I undertake to prove, though not incumbent on me.”—“Will my opponent now have the assurance to affirm,” &c.—*Essays on the Principles of Morality, passim.*

ther an elegant, a pure, or a correct writer, we must allow that his composition is always clear and perspicuous, announcing his meaning with precision, simple in its structure, aiming at no ambitious ornaments; and that his manner possesses an agreeable animation and earnestness, which fixes the attention of the reader, while it convinces him that the Author speaks from a firm persuasion of the truth of the doctrines he inculcates.

MEMOIRS

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE AND WRITINGS
OF
LORD KAMES.

BOOK IV.

CHAPTER I.

Lord Kames's agricultural pursuits.—Picture of the state of Scotland by Fletcher of Salton :—His projected reforms.—Obstacles to the improvement of Agriculture.—Earliest attempts towards its advancement.—Effects of the Rebellion in 1745.—Plans of the Commissioners for the Annexed Estates.—Wight's Agricultural Surveys.—Plan of a Board of Agriculture.—Lord Kames's Gentleman Farmer.—Character of that Work.—Observations concerning Planting.—Letters from Sir John Pringle to Lord Kames.

It has been already remarked, that among those objects of general utility to which the patriotic mind of Lord KAMES was more particularly directed, there was none which occupied

CHAP. I.

Lord Kames' agricultural pursuits.

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Picture of
the State of
Scotland by
Fletcher of
Salton.

pied a greater share of his attention than the improvement of the agriculture of his native country.

When we look back to the state of Scotland about a century ago, and observe the extraordinary opinions entertained at that time even by men of the most enlightened understanding, with respect to fundamental principles of rural economy, we shall cease to wonder at the slow progress of agriculture, which not only found its usual obstacles in the natural indolence and prejudices of the peasantry, but in the erroneous ideas of the landholders with regard to their substantial interest.

In the period to which I allude, ANDREW FLETCHER OF SALTON, a man of an ardent and virtuous mind, and of a truly patriotic spirit, has drawn a picture of the state of Scotland, which, if it did not find its evidence both in the historical records, and in the laws of the country, would at this day pass for the fiction of a diseased imagination. He speaks of a fifth part of the population of Scotland as in the state of actual mendicants, begging alms from door to door; and of these a great proportion dying yearly from absolute want: of a hundred thousand gipsies, or vagabonds, living without regard to any laws human or divine, and seeking their subsistence by violence, rapine and murder; of one-half of the land-property of the kingdom, "possessed by a people who are all gentlemen, *only because they will not work*;" and

“and who in every thing are more contemptible than the vilest slaves, except that they always carry arms, because for the most part they live upon robbery :” And after the mention of these known facts, and the assumption of a political principle founded in the truest wisdom, “That numbers of people being great riches, every government is to blame that makes not a right use of them,” he proceeds to propose the remedies for those diseases. Of the first method of cure, which is nothing less than the introduction of *Slavery*, under the sole restriction, that the master shall have no power to put to death, mutilate or torture his slaves, I forbear to enter into any discussion : it is enough to say, that it affords a striking picture of the actual condition of a people, when such a change could be proposed as a remedy of evils*.

His projected reforms.

The

* It is but justice, however, to this most respectable man, to hear what he has to allege in vindication of this violent remedy. He begins with remarking, that the institution of slavery among the ancients was the best provision which their governments could make for the support of the lower classes of the people ; as it secured to the most indigent the necessaries of life, compelled every man to be industrious, and thus prevented any persons, able to work, from being a burden on the community ; while, at the same time, it enabled the State to execute at a small expence the most useful works for the public benefit, as high-ways, aqueducts, common sewers, bridges, harbours, and market-places. He next details the notorious fact of the very great number of mendicants, vagrants, and thieves, who constitute so large a share of the population

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The second reform recommended by the patriotic Fletcher, is more pertinent to the present object of consideration ; as it affords an useful lesson of caution in regard to the admission of

pulation of Scotland, and whom nothing but force will compel to labour ; and he concludes with proposing as a remedy for so an enormous an evil, “ That every man of a certain estate in this nation, should be obliged to take a proportionable number of those vagabonds, and either employ them in hedging and ditching his grounds, or any other sort of work in town and country ; or, if they happen to be children and young, that he should educate them in the knowledge of some mechanical art, that so every man of estate might have a little manufacture at home, which might maintain those servants, and bring great profit to the master ; as they did to the ancients, whose revenue, by the manufactures of such servants, was much more considerable than that of their lands. Hospitals and alms-houses ought to be provided for the sick, lame and decrepit, either by rectifying old foundations, or instituting new. And, for example and terror, three or four hundred of the most notorious of those villains, which we call *Jockies*, might be presented by the Government to the State of Venice, to serve in their galleys against the common enemy of Christendom.

“ But these things, when once resolved, must be executed with great address, diligence and severity ; for that sort of people is so desperately wicked, such enemies of all work and labour, and, which is yet more amazing, so proud, in esteeming their own condition above that which they will be sure to call slavery, that, unless prevented by the utmost industry and diligence, upon the first publication of any orders necessary for putting in execution such a design, they will rather die with hunger in caves and dens, and murder their young children, than appear abroad, to have them and themselves taken into such a kind of service. And the Highlands are such a vast and unsearchable retreat for them, that, if strict and severe order be not taken to prevent it, upon such an occasion these vagabonds will only

of general principles in political economy. It was his idea, that the principal cause of the poverty and misery of the people of Scotland was, the high rent of lands; “ the letting

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“ our

“ only rob as much food as they can out of the low-country, and retire to
 “ live upon it in those mountains, or run into England, till they think the
 “ storm of our resolutions is over, which in all former times they have seen
 “ to be vain.”

Of the state of the Highlands he remarks: “ This part of the coun-
 “ try being an inexhaustible source of beggars, has always broke all our
 “ measures relating to them. And it were to be wished, that the Go-
 “ vernment would think fit to transplant that handful of people, and their
 “ masters, (who have always disturbed our peace), into the low-country, and
 “ people the Highlands from hence, rather than they should continue to be a
 “ perpetual occasion of mischief to us. It is in vain to say, that whatever
 “ people are planted in those mountains, they will quickly turn as savage,
 “ and as great beggars, as the present inhabitants; for the mountains of the
 “ Alps are greater, more desert, and more condemned to snows, than those of
 “ the Highlands of Scotland, which are every where cut by friths and lakes,
 “ the richest in fishing of any in the world, affording great conveniences for
 “ transportation of timber and any other goods; and yet the Alps, which
 “ have no such advantages, are inhabited every where by a civilized, indus-
 “ trious, honest, and peaceable people: but they had no lords to hinder them
 “ from being civilized, to discourage industry, and encourage thieving, and
 “ to keep them beggars, that they might be the more dependant; or when
 “ they had any that oppressed them, as in that part of the mountains that be-
 “ longed to the Swiss, they knocked them on the head.

“ Let us now compare the condition of our present vagabonds with that of
 “ servants under the conditions which I have proposed, and we shall see the
 “ one living under no law of God, man, or nature, polluted with all man-
 “ ner

BOOK IV.

“ our farms at so excessive a rate, as makes the tenant poorer
 “ even than his servants, whose wages he cannot pay, and
 “ involves in the same misery day-labourers, tradesmen, and
 “ the lesser merchants, who live in the country villages and
 “ towns ; and thereby influences no less the great towns and
 “ wholesale merchants, makes the master have a trouble
 “ some and ill-paid rent ; his lands not improved by inclo-
 “ sure or otherwise, but, for want of horses and oxen fit for
 “ labour, every where run out and abused.” And, as no
 direct

“ ner of abominations, and though so little in expectation of the good things
 “ of another life, yet in the worst condition of this, and sometimes starved to
 “ death in time of extraordinary want. The other, though sometimes they
 “ may fall under a severe master, (who nevertheless may neither kill, muti-
 “ late, nor torture them), are always sure to have food, clothes, and lodging ;
 “ and have this advantage above other men, that, without any care or pains
 “ taken by them, these necessities are likewise secured to their wives and
 “ children. They are provided for in sickness, their children are educated,
 “ and all of them, under all the inducements, encouragements and obligations
 “ possible, to live quiet, innocent and virtuous lives. They may also hope,
 “ if they shew an extraordinary affection, care and fidelity, in the service of
 “ their master, that not only they and their families shall have entire free-
 “ dom, but a competency to live, and perhaps the estate of the master en-
 “ trusted to their care. Now, if we will consider the advantages to the na-
 “ tion by the one, and the disadvantages arising from the other sort of men,
 “ we shall evidently see, that as the one is an excessive burden, curse and re-
 “ proach to us, so the other may enrich the nation, and adorn this country
 “ with public works beyond any in Europe, which shall not take the like
 “ methods of providing for their poor.” — *Political Works of ANDREW FLETCHER of Salton. II. Disc. on the Affairs of Scotland.*

direct remedy could be easily applied to the correction of this supposed abuse, he proposed, in the first place, to prohibit by law the taking of any interest for money, which would oblige the rich to employ their wealth either in agricultural improvements, or in commerce and manufactures; and, secondly, he recommended some chimerical regulations, to the effect of gradually abolishing the leasing of farms, equalizing land-property, and making every man the actual cultivator of his own estate.

Experience has at length evinced the fundamental error of all these speculations, and demonstrated, that the poverty of Scotland was to be remedied, and the indolence of the lower classes of the people corrected, by means directly the reverse of those which this political writer has proposed: But this experience was very slow in its operation, as every change found obstacles both in the habits of the people, and in some respects even in the condition and tenure of landed property. A very great proportion of the lands in Scotland being fit only for the purposes of pasture, was possessed in common by the vassals and tenants of many adjoining proprietors; while, at the same time, the arable lands, even in the best parts of the country, were occupied by a number of small tenants, who, instead of cultivating separate farms, divided either by fences or known land-marks, shared the ground among them by alternate ridges; a practice incompatible with good agriculture, and which rendered it impossible

Obstacles to the improvement of Agriculture.

BOOK IV.

sible to improve the land by planting and inclosing*. It is true, that in 1695, the Legislature provided a remedy for these

* In a very judicious treatise, entitled, *The Interest of Scotland considered, with regard to its Police, Agriculture, Trade, Manufactures and Fisheries*, written by Provost PATRICK LINDSAY of Edinburgh, and published in the year 1733, the wretched policy in the management of great estates which at that time prevailed, is thus strongly painted, and the causes which led to it assigned.

“ In old lordships and great baronies, most of the farmers live in what is called the *Barony-town*; the arable lands are divided by run-rig, equally amongst them; and the outlying grounds are possessed by them all in common, for pasture and casting of *feal*, (*i. e.* cutting the greensward for turf to cover their houses, or for burning), a most pernicious practice. When this disposition of estates was made, the manners of the times made it necessary; the Crown wanted either power or inclination to keep the public peace, and to preserve the persons and properties of the subjects from the violence and outrage of one another. An injury done to one family was repaired by the return of a like act of violence upon the aggressor: thus, two families, once at variance, continued in feud and enmity, and a state of war. The lord of the barony lived in a castle or tower of war; and unless he was surprised abroad in the day-time, his person was safe, and he might sleep sound at night: but their lands were liable to the constant plunder and depredations of one another. When an inroad happened, every one upon the ground was bound by his interest, as well as his duty, to turn out with his arms to rescue the prey; for, as their corn and cattle were all, by this disposition, mixed, every one probably had a share in it. But these unhappy days are now long since passed; the peace of the country, and the properties of its inhabitants, are now secured by law. The effect should therefore cease with the cause. These baronies may now be much improved, by dividing them into so many farms, each of a proper extent.”

these evils, by two separate statutes, the one authorising the division of commons, and the other that of *run-ridge* lands, at the suit of any proprietor having an interest in such division : but in the latter case, the remedy was partial and imperfect ; for it neither extended to the lands belonging to boroughs and corporations, nor had it any effect in correcting the established custom of *run-ridge* possessions among the tenants of the same estate. It was only the operation of wiser and better notions of agriculture, gradually taking place from the increasing tranquillity of the country, and the consequent decay of the ancient feudal habits, that at length abolished those hurtful usages.

The inclosing of waste lands for pasture was first practised in the district of Galloway, (Kirkcudbright-shire), about the year 1720, by the great cattle-dealers, who bought and pastured live stock, which they drove to the English market. The continual intercourse of these dealers with England, made them acquainted with various modes of husbandry, which they successfully introduced at home on the land-estates which their wealth enabled them to purchase. The example was imitated by a few spirited and opulent landholders in different parts of the country. Among these, the Earl of Haddington, and John Cockburn of Ormiston in East-Lothian ; Mr Hope of Rankeilior in Fife ; the Earls of Stair and Eglington in Ayrshire ; and the last Duke of Perth in Stratherne, deserve to be particularly mentioned, as zealous

Earliest attempts towards its advancement.

BOOK IV.

lous and successful promoters of the English husbandry upon their estates. These noblemen and gentlemen formed, in 1733, the plan of a *Society for the Encouragement of Agriculture*, which, in a short time, comprehended three hundred of the principal landholders in Scotland; and this institution, subsisting in vigour for above twenty years, diffused the spirit of improvement over a considerable part of the kingdom*.

Effects of
the Rebel-
lion in 1745.

The Rebellion in 1745 brought a great recompence for the temporary evils that attended it, in the many valuable improvements to which it gave rise in Scotland. Among these, the opening of the country by highways, the first step to all advancement in agriculture, and the primary engine of civilization; the suppression of the heritable jurisdictions; the abolition of the personal services of the peasantry, which

* "Infinite was the good," (says a judicious writer on Agriculture), "which this Society did to their country; particularly by receiving members, and answering queries, concerning husbandry and manufactures; by their proposals relative to the public funds, drawn up by a Committee of their number; by their application to the Royal Boroughs for their concurrence; by their joint application to Parliament; by the acts in consequence of that application; and by the King's patent following thereon, naming Trustees for the Fisheries and Manufactures, almost all chosen out of this Society. Before this Society commenced, we seemed to have been several centuries behind our neighbours of England; now I hope we are within less than one of what they are, either with regard to husbandry or manufactures."—MAXWELL'S *Practical Husbandman*, Edin. 1757.

kept them in the most abject dependance, and repressed all ingenious exertions to improve their condition, were great and permanent benefits. Nor is it to be denied, that, in a few instances, even the forfeiture of many of the great estates, and their temporary annexation to the Crown, while it tended more effectually than any other means that could be employed to break the feudal bondage, was the immediate introduction to a better system of husbandry, and the cause of many material improvements in the state of the country.

These forfeited estates, which were now under the management of a Board of Commissioners specially appointed for that purpose*, consisted of large tracts of land, many parts of which were capable of the highest culture; and they contained a strong, a hardy, and a sagacious race of men, whose powers it seemed only necessary to call forth, and direct to those means of improvement which Nature herself put within their power, and of which their ancient habits and situation, and in part their own prejudices, had hitherto prevented the employment.

Plan of the
Commissioners for the
Annexed
Estates.

The duty which Lord Kames had to discharge as one of the Members of this Board, of which for many years he took the most active direction, naturally suggested to his mind the consideration of various plans for the improvement of those

Wight's
agricultural
surveys.

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extensive

* See *supra*, vol. i. p. 203.

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extensive domains, of which they had the charge for the public benefit. The preparatory step was to obtain a correct and particular account of the actual situation of those estates; the soils of the different farms; the modes of cultivation employed; the crops commonly raised; the manures used, and those which the soil could furnish, and nature most easily supply; the prices of labour and provisions; and, in general, to collect every degree of information which might tend to suggest the best improvements of which the land was capable. A person of intelligence and activity, and of known agricultural skill, *Mr Andrew Wight of Ormiston*, was proposed by Lord Kames, and nominated by the Board, to proceed, under a set of instructions, drawn up by his Lordship, and make a survey of this nature. Mr Wight's Reports, which were made in the years 1773 and 1774, were so satisfactory, that the Commissioners not only adopted from them a variety of judicious regulations for the management of the estates under their care, and carried into effect the most beneficial improvements of the lands; but, in the view of extending those advantages to the nation at large, they employed the same person to prosecute his surveys, and to furnish similar reports of the actual state of agriculture in every quarter of Scotland. The result was, a great body of useful information, which was given to the public, in six volumes, printed at different intervals, from the year 1778 to 1784; and which may justly be said to have powerfully excited the spirit of improvement, which, from that time, has been

been progressive, and in these latter years most rapidly so, in every department of agriculture and rural economy.

CHAP. I.

A favourite idea of Lord Kames was, the establishment of a *Board of Agriculture* in Scotland. His plan was, that the Board should consist of nine members, all men of ability and skill in rural affairs, and of known patriotism, to whom the honour of promoting their country's good, would be a sufficient reward of their labours. He proposed that a Secretary should be appointed for the official business, with an adequate salary; and that the Board should hold its meetings monthly. He digested a regular plan of the business of this Board*, embracing every thing that regarded the improvement of the agriculture of Scotland, from an accurate information of the present modes and practices, the correction of errors, the introduction of ascertained improvements, the direction of rational experiments, and the excitement of industry by premiums and bounties. The plan, though from various obstacles, not adopted in his own lifetime, has been since that time realized in effect by two separate institutions; that of the *Highland Society*, which, notwithstanding the limitation which its name implies, embraces every thing that regards the general agriculture and husbandry of Scotland, and the *British Board of Agriculture*, which we owe to

Plan of a
Board of
Agriculture.

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the

* See the plan of this Board in the Appendix to the *Gentleman Farmer*, p. 367.

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The Gentleman Farmer.

the active zeal and patriotism of Sir John Sinclair of Ulster.

But Lord Kames was not satisfied with exciting the activity and employing the talents of others in those plans of general utility to his country. He resolved to contribute the fruits of his own speculations and practice in agriculture,—a subject to which he had begun very early in life, to turn his attention, and which had always been with him a favourite occupation. Availing himself of the labours of such of the agricultural writers as have founded their opinions on scientific principles; profiting by the ideas of his philosophical friends, whom he engaged in an epistolary correspondence on those particular branches of the subject on which he most wanted information*; and combining their notions with the result of his own researches and actual experience, he at length, in 1776, when in the eightieth year of his age, published his *Gentleman Farmer, being an attempt to improve agriculture by subjecting it to the test of rational principles*. This work is a singular specimen of the powers of a vigorous mind, which, even at that advanced age, when the weakness of nature usually gives of itself a respite from all laborious exertions,

* How earnestly he courted every degree of information on the subject which then engaged him, and with what truly philosophical views his inquiries were directed, will appear from some of those letters which the reader will find at NO. II. of the Appendix to this Volume.

exertions, could prosecute its employments with undiminished energy. Of the work itself, it is the best eulogium to say, that, in a science which of late years has been continually advancing, though yet far short of perfection, the *Gentleman Farmer* is the most useful book of its kind which had appeared at the time of its publication.

From a desire of forming a just estimate of this work, of which a very imperfect knowledge of the subject rendered me an incompetent judge, I applied to a learned and ingenious Friend, who, in the same official station with Lord Kames, joins to a variety of attainments, literary and philosophical, a remarkable knowledge of agriculture, in which he has distinguished himself by some improvements, founded on scientific principles, and of much practical utility. The observations with which he has favoured me, are too valuable to suffer any abridgment in point of matter, and I shall make no other alteration on them than a few slight changes of expression.

Character of
that work.

None of Lord Kames's works is more characteristic of his genius and disposition, in all their principal features, than the *Gentleman Farmer*. In the Author's younger days, the rude, or rather barbarous state of agriculture in Scotland, had powerfully struck his mind, always animated with zealous patriotism, and never blinded by authority or custom. He had accordingly, at an early period of life, commenced an improving farmer on his own estate; but his professional labours

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labours as a Lawyer and Judge, and the variety of his pursuits in Morals, Metaphysics, and the Belles Lettres, as well as his researches on the subjects of Law and Antiquities, precluded the possibility of his devoting that time and attention to practical agriculture, which was necessary, either to form a sound system from his own observation and experience, or to prosecute the necessary relative researches in the sciences of Natural History, Mechanics and Chemistry, even as then understood; although his philosophic mind by a natural instinct, constantly recurred to them, as the great sources from which the improvements of agriculture were to be suggested, and its ultimate attainments to be derived.

“ Gleaning, however, as much as he could of the recent discoveries and improvements in those sciences, and relying on the facts acquired from his own observation and experience, as well as from general reading, and the conversation of men of enlightened mind, with whom he associated; and trusting to the powers of his own understanding in meditating on what had occurred to him in the course of a long life, he, in the 80th year of his age, gave to the public his ideas on Husbandry in all its branches. In a work thus produced, much correctness, much scientific induction, or much of novelty to persons of information, was not to be expected. Nor was it to be hoped, that it should even be free from errors, arising from wrong information, and failure of memory,

or

or altogether exempt from that defect of which even the greatest of the Author's admirers must be sensible,—a propensity to be too easily satisfied with an ingenious thought, or captivated by a plausible hypothesis. But after every allowance of this kind, the work is extremely valuable. It exhibits every where the most enlarged views of the subjects of which he treats: if not always successful in pointing out the true causes of appearances, it generally directs to the quarter from whence they are to be sought; if it fails in prescribing universally the best rules of practice, it exposes many that are improper and pernicious: and while it abounds in valuable suggestions, and ingenious thoughts on every branch of husbandry, it seizes all opportunities of rousing the activity of the husbandman, of animating his patriotism, and strengthening his conviction of the wisdom and benevolence of the Great Author of Nature. The work, in short, is fully adequate to the state of knowledge of the subject, even among the best-informed agriculturists, at the period when it appeared; and it had a remarkable influence in diffusing that knowledge, and in prompting to new experiments and improvements throughout the nation; thus exciting a spirit of enterprize in agricultural pursuits, which, notwithstanding wars, and taxes without example, enables it to pervade the country with an increasing rapidity, and promises to bring husbandry to a state of perfection hitherto unknown, and even unexpected.

“ Of

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“Of a work of this kind, it would be improper here to enter into any examination in detail, which, from the nature of the subject, would either resolve into a large treatise, or prove nearly useless or invidious. Indeed, nothing could be more unfair than to write an ample review in 1806, of a work in Agriculture published in 1776. Dr Black’s discoveries in chemistry had then only begun to produce that school of experimental philosophers, who have since carried the science to an extraordinary height, in union with its kindred departments of natural history; and the accumulation of practical observations on agriculture, which Lord Kames himself was the first to promote in Scotland, had then only commenced. In such circumstances, little could be quoted from his work which would not admit of correction, by being restricted, modified or enlarged; and the Reviewer would assume a superiority over his Author, which time alone, and the natural progress of science, had occasioned. It may, however, be asserted with some confidence, that, were a proficient in husbandry, with all the advantages of recent discoveries, to begin now to compose a popular work on that subject, he could hardly follow a wiser or more beneficial plan, than to write over again, chapter by chapter, Lord Kames’s *Gentleman Farmer*, making those corrections, and adding those improvements, which the progress of natural science in the last generation has furnished. In this way, his work would comprehend almost every thing useful or desirable for the farmer to learn: while at the same time, the

the advancement of the art would be distinctly marked, and many valuable hints and views brought forward with new advantages, that, in a work in some degree obsolete, run a risk of being altogether overlooked and lost; for men of science do not always submit to be men of curious research; and there are few, who, with a view to practical information, will now peruse a treatise on Agriculture composed thirty years ago.

Hence, though the mistakes and errors in such works as the *Gentleman Farmer* are now nearly harmless, and consequently there is no strong call on any person to point them out, there is a considerable risk, that many hints which it contains of great importance, may be altogether forgotten and lost: more especially, where such hints, as often happens where they drop from authors of superior ingenuity, are better calculated for a more advanced state of the art than that of the period when they flourished. Thus, Lord Kames's suggestion to attempt artificially to form a soil of perpetual or indefinite fertility, in imitation of some soils found in nature, does not appear to have been followed with any trials by actual experiment; though the very attempt, as he justly observes, could not fail to afford valuable information. But the state of chemical knowledge in his time, and for some years after, was too imperfect to promise much benefit from such an attempt; whereas, the great improvement in the chemical analysis in late years, seems now

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to point out the pursuit as rational, and a successful course of experiments to that end to be within the reach of our powers.

Observations
concerning
Planting.

“ While, for the reasons above mentioned, it would evidently be improper to enter into any detailed criticism on Lord Kames’s *Gentleman Farmer*, it may be remarked, that every intelligent reader will feel a sensible pleasure in the reflection, that the benevolent wishes and the patriotic views of the Author have, in many respects, met with their full accomplishment in the great improvement which the science of agriculture has of late years undergone. It is true, that this pleasure suffers some alloy from observing the neglect with which some of his most salutary advices have been treated. Of these one remarkable instance occurs to be mentioned. It must be acknowledged, that Lord Kames’s advices concerning the *Planting of trees*, are among those least entitled to estimation ; and, in particular, the directions he gives for stirring the soil, and weeding or thinning their numbers twice in the year ; and for cutting off the under branches of firs and larches, till the trees are as far distant from each other as they are high : directions which, in many cases, would be absolutely pernicious ; and the first of which, the stirring the earth about the roots, seems to be inconsistent with another of his advices, which has more reason in it, namely, that the forester should go over his young plantations after every high wind, and tread firmly around the roots

roots wherever the trees appear to be loosened, in order to sustain them in their upright position. But among his remarks on this subject, there is one of a very important nature, and which is extremely deserving of attention. In viewing the *natural forests* of fir in the Highlands of Scotland, where the timber is equal to that of the best foreign growth, we observe that those forests consist of trees of all different ages ; the seeds being sown each successive year by the birds and winds ; so that, however thick they rise on the surface, there is always a decided superiority in some of the trees above the rest. By this means, though the younger afford shelter to the older trees, they always give way to them, and hence, instead of being of prejudice to their growth, they favour it very greatly, by rubbing off their under branches, and protecting their stems from the cold, which would otherwise contract the bark, and check the rise of the sap : at the same time, the loss of their under branches affords the more nourishment to their lofty heads, which spread with great luxuriance. On the other hand, in extensive *plantations* of firs, the trees being all of the same age, and rising together, they interfere with each other in their growth ; there is a general struggle for superiority for many years ; and even the hardier plants, which come at last to overpower the weaker, suffer much by the contest, and exhibit to the last its effects in their long, naked, spindle form, small heads and trunks of inconsiderable dimensions. Such is the consequence of planting a whole field at the same time, instead of imitating

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the process of nature, by stocking it in a succession of years. But even where this erroneous mode of planting has been followed, a remedy to a certain extent might be obtained, by keeping the outskirts of large plantations moderately thin; so that the trees, retaining their under branches, would form a fence to exclude the cold winds from penetrating into the innermost parts of the plantation, contracting the bark of the trees, and thus stunting their growth. If, in addition to this precaution, some care were taken in cutting off the tops of the less promising trees, so as to favour the spreading of the heads in the more luxuriant, there seems little reason to doubt, that our *planted* fir-woods might in time afford timber of equal size and goodness with the *natural* forests*.

Thus

* “ If we observe how trees thrive on a declivity †, and still more in a valley, though in a poor soil, and at a considerable height above the sea, we shall soon discover the importance of the three following advices; (1.) To exclude the winds from ranging without interruption among the naked stems of trees; (2.) To afford advantages to the strongest plants in overtopping the weaker; and (3.) To plant sufficiently thick to darken the ground, which urges the trees to tend upwards, diminishes their lateral branches, and thus promotes both the height and volume of the stem. The latter advice, however, must be cautiously followed, lest the air and light be excluded to a pernicious excess.

† See another reason assigned for the thriving of trees upon a declivity, in a Letter from Professor John Walker to Lord Kames, dated 18th February 1773, Appendix, No. II.

Thus far my ingenious friend ; and to his remarks on the subject of Lord Kames's *Gentleman Farmer*, I shall only add, that at a period when agriculture in Scotland was in its infancy, or but just beginning to be regarded as a science resting on rational principles, its Author had the merit of explaining those principles, so far as then known, with clearness and precision, and of pointing out their application to the practices of husbandry, which in most instances he could recommend from his own experience, or what he had learned of the experience of others. A work of this nature from a person of his station, public character, and eminent talents, was calculated to give importance and dignity to those pursuits and employments which are generally rated far below their value *. He had the merit, too, of furnishing in his

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cess.—In those neglected plantations where daylight may be seen for miles through naked stems, chilled and contracted with the cold, the mischief might perhaps be partially remedied, by planting young trees round the extremities, which, having room to spread luxuriantly, would exclude the winds ; and the internal spaces might be thickened up with oaks, silver-firs, beeches, and such other trees as thrive with a small portion of light. When once the wind is excluded, the weakest of the old trees might be taken out, and the others left to profit by the shelter and space that is afforded."

* *Omnium autem rerum, ex quibus aliquid acquiritur, nihil est agriculturæ melius, nihil uberius, nihil dulcius, nihil homine, nihil libero dignius.*—CIC. *De Offic.* ii. 42. See likewise the whole of that fine panegyric on agriculture, which the same author makes in the person of the elder Cato.—*Ibid. De Senectute*, cap. 15, 16.

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own person a most useful example to the country gentlemen of Scotland, fitted to arouse them from that state of torpor in which too many of them pass their lives, and to awaken a generous emulation to distinguish themselves in those manly and ingenuous occupations, which tend equally to the public benefit, and the increase of their own comforts and enjoyments.

Letters from
Sir John
Pringle to
Lord Kames.

Lord Kames dedicated his *Gentleman Farmer* to Sir JOHN PRINGLE, then President of the Royal Society, at once desirous of paying a compliment to an old and valued friend, and ambitious, as he acknowledges, of obtaining the patronage of that respectable Body to his labours. He received from Sir John Pringle the two following letters, of the same date :

Sir JOHN PRINGLE to Lord KAMES.

“ MY LORD,

London, January 24. 1777.

“ Having yesterday presented to the Royal Society your late publication, entitled, *The Gentleman Farmer*, and represented to them, that if your Lordship has been pleased to prefix my name to the dedication, it was on account of the honour I had of sitting in the Chair ; for that the address was virtually to the Society at large : In consequence of this declaration, they desired me to return their most hearty
thanks

thanks to your Lordship for your valuable present, and for the compliment you make, them in requesting their patronage on the occasion. But the Society, my Lord, are persuaded, from your Lordship's genius displayed in your other productions; and from your long experience, enlightened by the principles of natural knowledge, so often defective or misapplied in works of this nature, that this Treatise of Husbandry will require no other recommendation to the public, than their knowing that your Lordship is the author of it.

“ By the authority, and in the name of the Royal Society of London, I am, my Lord, your Lordship's most affectionate friend, and obedient servant,

JOHN PRINGLE, P. R. S.”

“ MY LORD,

London, January 24. 1777.

“ Having written the letter which accompanies this, in the name of the Society, give me leave to return your Lordship, in my private capacity, my warmest acknowledgments for the honour you have done me in so public a manner, of calling me your *Friend*, in the dedication of your *Gentleman Farmer*. Hitherto unworthy of so flattering an appellation, it shall ever be my study to deserve it.

“ The book ought to have been presented to the Society a week sooner, but an accident prevented my zeal. It was delivered

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delivered to me by Mr Smith. Taking it for granted, that there was another copy intended for the Society, but not yet arrived, I gave them mine, though you had written my name upon it, designing to replace it in my study by another copy, which I shall demand from Mr Cadell, your bookseller. If you choose it, I shall call for a second, to lay, in your name, at HIS MAJESTY'S feet, —a step your Lordship may with propriety take, considering the subject, your rank, and character as a writer. If agreeable to you, your Lordship may send orders to Mr Cadell to have a copy bound in the KING'S taste, for that purpose. This is an office (I mean presenting the book) I could do, without the formality of applying to the Lord Chamberlain, or the Lord of the Bed-Chamber in waiting.

“ Before I carried the copy you sent me to the Society, I had read a good deal of it, and was much pleased with the easy and natural manner in which you convey instruction. When I get another copy, I shall finish the whole; as I esteem it a clear and philosophical account of that most interesting part of natural knowledge.

“ In a short time will be delivered to your Lordship, a copy of another Society discourse of mine, under the title of *A Discourse on some of the late Improvements of the Means for preserving the Health of Mariners*. Your Lordship will imagine, that the Council of the Royal Society, who gave me

the theme; had understood that your Lordship intended to upbraid us with being always soaring in the clouds, and dealing too much in abstruse speculations. Here you'll find us descend and vulgarise ourselves with a witness, by writing and hearing an encomium on *small-beer, sour claret, and cown.*

"I most heartily wish your Lordship a continuation of health and spirits for the further instruction of the world, and the further joy of your friends; and I have the honour to be, my Lord, your Lordship's most obedient and obliged humble servant,

JOHN PRINGLE."

In a subsequent letter, at the distance of some months, Sir John Pringle thus writes:

"I had the honour of presenting your book to the KING, which was most graciously received. HIS MAJESTY was pleased to order me to return you his Royal Thanks, and afterwards to speak most favourably of the subject, and of the Author. He was glad to hear that agriculture was making such a progress in Scotland, and that such gentlemen of condition and learning encouraged the study and practice by their own example.

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“ For some days past, I have been much entertained with Captain Cook’s own account of his last voyage. It is written with much judgment and veracity, and will afford your Lordship most authentic and excellent materials for another volume of *Sketches on Man*. The work is quite genuine, no alterations having been made from the manuscript in his own handwriting, except with regard to language, and those chiefly grammatical.—I am, my Lord,” &c.

CHAP.

CHAPTER II.

Indefatigable activity of Lord Kames's mind.—Letter from Mrs Montagu on that subject.—Elucidations on the Law of Scotland.—Select Decisions of the Court of Session.—Loose Hints on Education.—Former Writers on that subject; Locke, &c.—Rousseau's Emile.—Other systems of Education.—Lord Kames's views on that subject.—Religion a main object of attention.

AT the advanced period of life to which Lord Kames had now attained, his constitution had suffered nothing from the attacks of old age. When now upwards of fourscore, there was no sensible decay of his mental powers, or, what is yet more extraordinary, of the flow of his animal spirits, which had all the gaiety and vivacity of his early years. Indefatigable in the pursuit of knowledge; ever looking forward to some new object of attainment; one literary task was no sooner accomplished than another was entered upon with equal ardour and unabated perseverance. It seems in fact, to be the natural consequence of a steady engagement in the pursuits of science or of literature, and is more particu-

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larly

CHAP. II.

Indefatigable activity of Lord Kames's mind.

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larly the result of the habit of composition, that the mind, once accustomed to a regular train of thought, and to the examination of a subject under all its different aspects and relations, cannot be satisfied with a desultory exercise of its powers ; and feels not its wonted self-enjoyment, without a determinate object of study or investigation. Moreover, one literary labour is often the parent of another. In the course of investigating one particular subject, another is started, which invites to a separate discussion ; and hints are treasured up for a future inquiry : like the prospect gained by the traveller of a new and beautiful country, which cannot be explored at the time, without deviating from the true course of his journey ; but which he reserves as the object of an after survey, and engages in it with alacrity at his first season of leisure.

On this subject,—the pleasure arising from mental activity, Lord Kames had enlarged, in a letter to his friend Mrs Montagu, and in describing it as an irresistible appetite in his own constitution, had intimated some doubt of its being altogether praise-worthy, when indulged, like any other appetite, to excess. The following answer is strongly marked with that good sense and propriety of feeling which eminently distinguished the writer.

“ Sandleford,

*" Sandleford near Newbury,**" MY DEAR LORD,**August 23.*

" There is a kind of sacred luxury in communication with a friend; which, like a sacrifice, should be tasted only in the sanctuary. In the profane and unclean world of common life, infested with low solitudes and cares, one is unable and unworthy to enjoy this hallowed feast. Your letter found me in London, attending lawyers, and attended by architects, sculptors, bricklayers, painters, glaziers. Was it possible that in such a motley crowd I could either converse with a Friend, or reason with a Philosopher? Now that I am restored to a state of rational tranquillity, and in the bosom of silence, I have meditated on what you have written on the subject of Man's perpetual activity; and never can I think of that power and principle in his nature with greater respect and approbation, than while the writer's own character is before me. Most terms are capable of different meanings. Restless activity is generally taken in a bad sense: and if perpetual occupation has no other motive than a busy brain abhorrent of rest, it is a kind of St Vitus's dance of the mind. On the other hand, not to repose or tarry, while any good remains to be done, is highly commendable: And as no man has ever attained either to the utmost improvement of his own faculties, or done all the good which it was in his power to do to others; so he is blameable if he suffers himself to rest in any period of his being,

Letter from
Mrs Montagu
on that
subject.

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being, while it is in his power to make further advances to those worthy ends of his existence.

“ Your Lordship says, if man were merely a selfish being, he would always be at rest. It is most natural for you to think so, who make the good of others your great principle of action: But a selfish man who loved eating, would not be at rest till he obtained a good dinner.—Avarice, you say, is the least selfish of all the passions. The result of it to self, is certainly very bitter: but yet, as self-good is certainly its aim and object, all we can say is, that the avaricious man reasons extremely ill, and is guilty of egregious folly in employing means which can never answer his end. You observe very justly, that the pleasure of doing good never decays, but on the contrary strengthens by exercise. As we love those to whom we do good, we grow more affectionate to our fellow-creatures, in proportion to the extent of our benevolence. Therefore, my good Lord, keep on in your benevolent course: feed the hungry in mind and body; instruct the ignorant; reprove the vagabond in life or study; teach the idly curious not to lose their time in prying into things undiscoverable by human reason; give the traveller, who by mistake has wandered out of his way, the plainest direction to keep the road of his duties: thus shall action ever be preferable to rest

“ Thus

“ Thus much in answer to the Philosopher: now let me address myself to the Friend. Where do you pass the remainder of the summer? I hope at Blair-Drummond. Where can the summer be more delightful, or the autumn more pleasing. In the winter, the distant mountains covered with snow would offer the sublime; but I do not think the sublime in good season in the cold months. Our bodily feelings then call for comfort and indulgence; the shivering limbs disturb the reverie; one feels that one is not pure spirit, nor can subsist on the phantasms of imagination:

Tow’red cities please us then,

And the busy hum of men:—

The *vegetable* world has forsaken us; and the *animal* is no longer pleasant company. At Edinburgh your Lordship will find the pleasures of conversation in their highest degree.

“ My memory often presents to me the happy days we passed at Denton, and I never reflect upon them without tender gratitude to you and Mrs Drummond, for so kind, and so agreeable a visit. I passed six weeks this spring at the Bath, with great benefit to my health: from thence I came to this place; but have since been obliged to make two visits to London, on account of a large purchase I am making of an estate adjoining to Denton; and also to attend to the completing my new house in town, which will be:

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be an excellent habitation. The estate I am purchasing will likewise be a good acquisition: but alas! the present state of the country throws a cloud which obscures these brilliant possessions. Perhaps the same hand which delivers this into the post, will bring back an account that the French and Spaniards are landed. I do not fear the destruction of every thing from such an event; but I apprehend all the evils of confusion and dismay. I determine, however, to be myself as little confused or dismayed as I can, and to submit with resignation to whatever the Great Disposer of all things shall ordain. The invader and invaded are His, and by his goodness, omniscience, and omnipotence, he can, and will do what is best for both: human wisdom and power could be a friend only to one side. — With most affectionate esteem, I am, &c.

ELIZ. MONTAGU."

Elucidations
on the Law
of Scotland.

In considering, in a former part of these Memoirs, those Essays of Lord Kames's, which he entitled *Law-Tracts*, I took notice of the circumstances which gave origin to that work, as well as to another of the same nature, his *Elucidations on the Law of Scotland**. The latter publication may indeed be regarded as a sequel of the former; several topics, of which he had before treated, as he thought, too much in the general, being here resumed, and considered with greater amplitude;

* See *supra*, vol. i. p. 210. and p. 214.

amplitude, and the principles which he had laid down in that former work, and in his *Treatise on Equity*, applied to various other branches of the municipal law, which, in the course of his judicial function, and in the practice of the Court, had occurred to his consideration.

The *Blucidations respecting the Common and Statute Law of Scotland*, which he published in 1777, in one volume 8vo., comprehend forty-two separate articles or heads of discussion; in which it is the Author's object, (as he informs us in his preface), to vindicate the municipal law of his country from the reproach it has incurred from the writings of our older jurists, whose works contain "a mass of naked propositions, drawn chiefly from the decisions of the Supreme Courts, and rarely connected either with premises or consequences;—decisions all delivered as of equal authority, though not always concordant." Spurning at this indolent and degrading bondage of the mind, the Author, in this work, as in all his former researches in the law, appears the advocate of rational principle and just argument, in opposition to anomalous practice and blind authority.

In the course of these disquisitions, the wonted ingenuity of the Author is conspicuous, in throwing new and striking lights on some of the most abstruse and intricate doctrines of the law of Scotland. Such are the doctrines of Assignable Obligations, of Personal and Transmissible Challenges of Right,

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of the Forms essential to Marriage, of the Active and Passive Representation of Heirs, of Special and General Services of Heirs, of the Effect of entering Heir *cum beneficio inventarii*, of Qualified Oaths, of Rules for the ranking of Creditors on a bankrupt Estate ; and a variety of other branches of the law. Among the rest, the Author has new-modelled, and republished in this volume, the substance of the greater part of those disquisitions which he published in 1732, under the title of *Essays on several Subjects of Law*, viz. *Jus Tertii*, &c. The Essay *On Prescription*, enlarged and improved, makes a chapter in the present work : the Essay, entitled *Vinco vincentem*, is comprehended under the article of “ Rules for the ranking of Creditors ;” and the discussions relative to the subject of *Jus Tertii*, form another head, entitled, “ What Interest is sufficient to entitle one to sue or “ to defend.” On topics of the nature of many that are here treated, which often give rise to the most difficult questions, and on which the ablest jurists have differed in opinion, it were vain to expect a complete resolution of doubts ; or to suppose that the notions of any individual lawyer, however acute or profound, should afford a general conviction of soundness of decision. The Author himself was far from indulging so presumptuous a hope. His aim, as he modestly declares, went no higher than to rouse the spirit of inquiry on rational principles ; sensible of his proneness to err, but trusting that a good effect might result even from the detection of his errors. The work, accordingly, has found

found both its opponents and its advocates on many points of discussion ; but none have been so unjust to its merits, as to deny it the praise of elaborate research, ingenious disquisition, and useful design. It is worthy of notice, too, that some of those doctrines of the Author which were the most controverted in his own time, particularly those relating to preferences among the creditors of a bankrupt, have of late years come to be universally adopted, and are sanctioned by the late regulations in the statute-law regarding bankruptcies in Scotland.

The *Elucidations on the Law of Scotland* were dedicated by Lord Kames to his friend Mr DUNDAS, (now Viscount MELVILLE), at that time Lord Advocate for Scotland, and Dean of the Faculty of Advocates. "I can," says the Author, "address to you this little work without a blush. As in some instances it pretends to dissent from established practice, I know few men, young or old, who have your candour to make truth welcome against their own prepossessions ; and still fewer who have your talents to make it triumph over the prepossessions of others." A most just and merited encomium.

Lord Kames, from the time of his promotion to the Bench in 1752, had made it his constant custom to note the particulars of every remarkable case which occurred in the practice of the Court of Session, with his own observations on

Select Decisions of the Court of Session.

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the decision, and occasionally on the opinions of his brother Judges: a strong proof, that amidst the various pursuits which engaged his comprehensive mind, his professional duties had ever maintained their just rank and importance. These Reports amounting at length to a pretty numerous collection, he gave them to the public in 1780, in a folio volume, forming a supplement to that collection of the cases in which he had been engaged as a counsel, when at the Bar; and which he formerly published under the title of *Remarkable Decisions* *. The supplemental volume is entitled, *Select Decisions of the Court of Session*; and it records the cases most worthy of notice, decided by that Court, in a period of seventeen years, between 1752 and 1768. This collection exhibits, like the former, a perspicuous statement of the fact and argument of each case; though betraying too, like the former, a bias not unnatural, to the Reporter's particular opinions, and the grounds of his own judgment on the case. The work indeed may be considered in some respects as a Review of the decisions of the Court, during the period to which it relates †. It contains two hundred and sixty-

* See *suprà*, p. 70.

† The Author indeed seems to consider it himself in that light, as appears by the notice to the reader at the end of the volume :

“ August 1779.

“ As it has been one of my chief objects in a long life, to improve the
“ law of my native country, I have, in this collection, ventured my thoughts

“ on.

sixty-four Reports, in all of which the judgment serves to illustrate some important principle of the law. The collection was digested for publication, and printed, in the 84th year of the Author's age; but as its materials were all prepared while his powers of mind were in their full vigour, it forms a valuable addition to our common law-authorities, and to the records of the practice of the Supreme Court.

The subject of *Education* had always been regarded by Lord Kames in a most important point of view, and it was destined to furnish the matter of that work with which he closed his literary labours. That this subject had formerly engaged his mind in no ordinary degree, appears from one of his earlier productions, of which I have before taken notice,

Loose Hints
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tion.

“ on particular decisions, for illustration, or for correction. The extreme
 “ delicacy requisite in criticising the decisions of a Supreme Court, I am
 “ deeply sensible of; nor am I certain that a consciousness of impartiality
 “ ought to justify me. But of one thing I am certain, that to have publish-
 “ ed this collection recently, with my animadversions, in the face, as it were,
 “ of my brother Judges, from whom I differed, would admit no justification.
 “ It would have had the insolent air of challenging them to a paper-war. I
 “ resolved, therefore, while any of those Judges were alive, that this collec-
 “ tion should be kept private, and I gave orders accordingly. After wait-
 “ ing ten full years, I am now certain that my animadversions cannot be ta-
 “ ken amiss by any person alive; and as I flatter myself that the work may
 “ be of some use to the public, I can discover no reason for denying myself
 “ the satisfaction of having it correctly published, under my own inspection.”
Sel. Decis. p. 339.

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tice, *The Art of Thinking*. That small treatise was published in the year 1761. In the following year 1762, appeared a work upon education, which attracted in a remarkable manner the public attention, the *Emile* of JEAN JACQUES ROUSSEAU; and from that epoch we may date the prevailing passion of authors and readers, for the composition and perusal of Systems of Education, which seems characteristic of the present age.

Former writers on that subject;—
Locke, &c.

The parents and instructors of preceding times, who, in aid of their own judgment, wished to avail themselves of the lights furnished by superior talents and skill in the education of youth, had little else to resort to, than the *Treatise* of MR LOCKE, published in the beginning of the last century, and a small Tract on Education, by DR ISAAC WATTS, with his larger work *on the Improvement of the Mind*, both published above sixty years ago*. Yet, with all that the advancement of science, and the successive efforts of ingenuity, may be

* I mention not here the *Tractate on Education* by MILTON; because, besides its extreme brevity, and its being limited altogether to general views, it is less of the nature of a preceptive work, from which a parent could derive instruction in the proper education of a child, than the recommendation of a certain order and course of study, to be prosecuted in a national institution, for the training of youth to the offices of public life.—From the antiquated treatise of PEACHAM, (*The Complete Gentleman*), some instruction may be gathered, and a considerable share of amusement: although a just taste must be perpetually offended by the quaintness and affectation, both of the style and sentiments.

be supposed to have contributed to the improvement of this art, it may fairly be questioned, whether any more useful or safer guides can yet be found than those early writers. The reason is, that they considered education, not in the light of an abstruse science, which required the aid of superior intellect to unfold its principles, or of deep penetration to discover its hidden truths ; but as a practical art, of which the rules and precepts had no other foundation than plain common sense, prudence, and discretion. Acute metaphysician as Mr Locke was, and deeply skilled in the analysis of the powers of the mind, we find not in his valuable Treatise, a trace of abstract reasoning, refinement of thought, or the smallest tendency to new and singular opinions. All is simple, perspicuous, and rational. It is undoubtedly a very pleasing consideration, that it has been shewn by ingenious writers, from a careful analysis of the mental powers, and an investigation into the principles of moral conduct, that the most rational system of education, such, for example, as is prescribed by Locke, is agreeable to the true principles of human nature, and consonant to the soundest philosophy of the mind. But was this demonstration necessary ; or, considering the capacities of those who most want instruction on the subject, is it of much practical utility * ? Hard indeed were the lot of the generality of the human

* The latter question shall be answered by one of the ablest of those writers themselves, who have treated the subject of education according to philosophical

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human race, and precarious their chance of moral and intellectual improvement, if the rearing of infancy and youth, and the training of the faculties and powers to the proper ends of our being, were a deep and intricate science, of which only a few philosophers had ascertained the just principles, or were fitted to prescribe the rules and direct the necessary practice. It may be boldly said, that no similarly deficient economy is observable in the plans of the Great Author of Nature.

sophical principles. In the excellent *Letters by Miss ELIZABETH HAMILTON, on the Elementary Principles of Education*, is the following passage, (vol. i. p. 13.): "The effects of *association* are daily experienced by all; but as the term made use of to explain these effects may not be familiar to every reader of my own sex, a few observations upon it may not be unacceptable. This was omitted in the former edition, from a confidence that the application of the term would sufficiently explain its meaning. But in this, I find, I have been mistaken. A Lady, whose powers of wit and judgment can be excelled by nothing but her own candour and benevolence, has convinced me of my error, by assuring me, that, however familiar the philosophical use of the term might be to a certain class of readers, to such as had never heard of any other *associations* than those of the *Loyal Volunteers*, it was to the last degree perplexing." If the ablest metaphysicians have, with justice complained of the mistakes arising from the imperfection of language as an instrument of thought, and of the sophistical reasonings to which such imperfection has given rise, what hope is there, that to those of ordinary capacity we should convey clear ideas, while we address them in a language of which they do not know the first rudiments?

I am aware, that in Mr Locke's *Thoughts on Education*, there are some opinions, on which men of equal judgment and good sense may entertain a difference of sentiment: Such, for example, is the preference he gives to a private over a public education; and this, seemingly, without distinction of the temper, dispositions, and talents of the child or pupil. But as the author details his reasons for this preference, and fairly places in contrast to them the arguments in favour of a public education, the reader is allowed the exercise of his own judgment; and his conclusion will probably be, that either plan may be the most expedient, according to the temper and talents of the pupil, or the principal end proposed in his education. The just inference to be drawn from a difference of opinion in matters of this kind among men of the best understanding, is, that it is a folly to annex exclusive utility to any particular mode of tuition, or reprobate another as absolutely hurtful, unless it be altogether whimsical, and out of the common road. Good men and useful citizens, have been trained, not only both by the discipline of a public school, and by private tuition, but after a great variety of plans and methods of instruction. The only points of real consequence, are the good sense and the ability of the instructor; his capacity to discover the natural disposition and powers of his pupil, and to turn these to the best advantage: a single paragraph from the *Treatise of Locke* might furnish a text for many volumes:

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“ He, therefore, that is about children, should well study
 “ their natures and aptitudes, and see by often trials what
 “ turn they easily take, and what becomes them; observe
 “ what their native stock is, how it may be improved, and
 “ what it is fit for: He should consider what they want,
 “ whether they be capable of having it wrought into them
 “ by industry, and incorporated there by practice; and
 “ whether it be worth while to endeavour it. For in many
 “ cases, all that we can do, or should aim at, is to make the
 “ best of what nature has given, to prevent the vices and
 “ faults to which such a constitution is most inclined, and
 “ give it all the advantages of which it is capable. Every
 “ one’s natural genius should be carried as far as it could;
 “ but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but
 “ labour in vain.”

Rousseau’s
Emile.

But that good sense which forms the sole basis of a system of education composed for the age of Locke, is a material of too common and too coarse a nature, for the fabric of those refined and subtle theories, which are fitted to engage the attention of an age, where the new, the striking, and the brilliant, are alone admired and sought after. Rousseau, in an evil hour, vented his paradoxes on education;—the man who sent his own children to the foundling-hospital, and who failed, as he owns himself, in the only trial he made to educate the child of another. He knew that a singularity of opinion was the sure road to distinction as an author; and

CHAP. II.

and he determined to frame a theory, which should in every thing be opposite to the common notions of mankind. His organs, as he tells us, were so framed, and his mind so constituted, as to render him incapable of thinking and judging like other people: "*Je ne vois point comme les autres hommes; il y longtems qu'on me l'a reproché; mais depend il de moi de me donner d'autres yeux, et de m'affecter d'autres idées?*" And feeling and reasoning, as he acknowledges, like no other man, he has the modesty to presume, that he alone is right, and all the rest of the world in an error. The ordinary methods of education are all completely wrong: the very opposite course to the common, is almost always the right one: "*Prenez le contrepied de l'usage, et vous ferez presque tous jours bien*†." Thus, because the influence of habit, one of the most powerful principles of our nature, is universally resorted to in the ordinary systems of education; this is sufficient reason with Rousseau for utterly exploding its application: "Habits ought not to be impressed on children; for they restrain the natural freedom of the mind: *La seule habitude qu'on doit laisser prendre à l'enfant, est de n'en contracter aucune*‡." The enforcement of the parent's or the tutor's authority, and the obedience of the child, is generally supposed the most essential and primary step to be gained. "No," says Rousseau, "authority and obedience

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* *Préface d'Emile.* . . . † *Emile*, tom. i. p. 130.

‡ *Emile*, tom. i. p. 62.

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“ are servile principles, fitted only to make slaves and tyrants. Never cross your pupil in any thing, and then you will be sure to see him such as he is : When you suffer children to act as they please, their own mistakes will sufficiently correct them : *Sans lui défendre de mal faire, n'offrez jamais à ses volontés indiscrettes que des obstacles physiques, ou des punitions qui naissent des actions mêmes, et qu'il se rapelle dans l'occasion* *.” — It has been generally supposed, that the surest hold of the mind of a child is gained, by persuading him that your precepts are reasonable. “ Never reason at all with a child,” says Rousseau, “ he cannot understand you ; if he were capable of reasoning, he would have no need of education : By using argument, you only teach him to be satisfied with words instead of ideas, and make him disputations and self-sufficient : *C'est commencer par la fin. Si les enfans entendoient raison, ils n'auroient pas besoin d'être élevés. C'est les accoutumer à se payer de mots, à contrôler tout ce qu'on leur dit, à se croire aussi sages que leurs maîtres* †.” — As our early impressions are the most lasting, it has been usually thought of consequence to instil into the infant mind the first great principles of Religion : “ What,” says Rousseau, “ would you make your son the creature of prejudice ? Leave his mind to its own operations ; and when he is capable of distinguishing between truth and error, he will choose a religion

* *Emile*, tom. i. p. 110.† *Ibid.* tom. i. p. 120.

“ religion for himself. At fifteen, my pupil does not know that he has a soul ; and perhaps it is early enough, if he gains that piece of knowledge at eighteen *.” — It might naturally be supposed, that the bare statement of such paradoxes were sufficient to expose their absurdity ; if experience did not prove, that there is no doctrine too wild and extravagant for the caprices of the human intellect ; and the opinions of Rousseau, defended with the most ingenious sophistry, and varnished by the most fascinating eloquence, have had an extensive and pernicious influence on vain and superficial minds.

But to the public in general, Rousseau had shewn, that the subject of education admitted of much variety of sentiment ; that it was a rich field for novelty and ingenuity of thought ; and that with these recommendations, the importance of the object would insure attention to whatever was plausibly and ingeniously written in that department. New systems of education, controversial treatises in support and refutation of those systems, and books for the instruction of children, framed on all their opposite principles, now issued from the press in endless succession. The infant man seemed to be regarded as a subject of perpetual experiment, on which every daring empiric was at liberty to try the effect of his alterative processes, his stimulant, or his sedative medicines,

Other systems of education.

* *Emile*, tom. ii. p. 215.

BOOK IV.

cines, as his fancy prompted. In some of these systems, the primary engine with the parent or preceptor, is Deceit. A child is to be cheated into every thing: he is to be wheedled into learning under the mask of play; into obedience under the appearance of following his own inclination; and by a variety of artful contrivances and well-laid plots, he is to be silyly trepanned into virtue and good morals. According to an opposite theory, Nature is to be the sole guide, and the province of the parent or tutor is not to give impressions, but to guard against them. The child is to be left to feel his own wants, and to discover by his own ingenuity the means of supplying them: he is to make his own instruments, seek out his own amusements, follow the exercises in which he finds most pleasure, and extricate himself without assistance from all his difficulties. It is the doctrine of one theory of education, that children are to be guarded against all commerce with their inferiors, as carefully as from the contagion of the pestilence. With the servants of the family, those necessary evils, they are never to be suffered for one moment to hold conversation. It is an easy and natural extension of this doctrine, that they should be secluded from all society and acquaintance with other children of their own age and condition, from whose manners and habits these precious creatures can receive nothing but contamination. It is one of the maxims of this theory, that the principal end of man's existence is to rear his successor: the parent is to devote his whole attention to that object.

object. His house is to be constructed on a particular plan for the instruction of the child ; it is to be turned topsyturvy for his benefit. It is to become a workshop, a warehouse of implements, a laboratory, a museum, a theatre, an exhibition-room. All its ornaments, and even its furniture, are designed solely for his instruction. Little Master is the centre of this microcosm, the *anima mundi*. What a deal of pains and cost bestowed to puff up this little emmet with pride, vanity, and the sense of its own importance ! What is he to think of himself, or how to estimate others, those especially of inferior condition, when he sees that even his parents are but the ministers to his instruction or his amusements, and seem to have no other task to fulfil in life ?

The extravagant estimate of parental duty above alluded to, is not peculiar to one of the modern plans of education ; it is, to a certain degree, common to the greater part of them ; and it arises from the very systematic form in which the art is now treated. In every one of those plans to which I have alluded, education is regarded as a science depending on certain assumed theoretical principles, from which all its precepts are deduced, and by the standard of which all its conclusions are to be verified. It is a science, therefore, which must be carefully studied, and which, when acquired, demands a constant and unremitting attention to carry it into practice. A parent who follows out one of those theories in the education of his child, must devote to it the best part

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part of his time for a course of years. It deserves to be well considered, whether such a parent, in the too anxious desire to fulfil one duty, may not neglect others of equal or superior importance; and whether the child be truly a gainer by those sacrifices which are made for his behoof, or substantially benefited by that overweening care and exclusive attention of which he perceives his little *self* to be the object.

The hurtful consequence of the variety of theories on the subject of education, and of its being very generally regarded as an abstruse and intricate science, is, that parents of ordinary abilities, who possessing plain good sense, and just principles of morality, have thus from nature, and probably from the lights acquired by their own education, every requisite for the proper training and tuition of their offspring, are led to distrust their own capacity for the performance of a duty which they are now taught to consider as attended with the most formidable difficulties, and where every error may be followed by the most pernicious consequences. Thus alarmed, they are anxious to instruct themselves in this important science, and eagerly lay hold of every treatise and system that has been written upon the subject. The consequence is, they are either completely bewildered in a labyrinth of warring principles and contradictory opinions, and giving up all hope of effecting any thing by their own exertion, surrender their children, with implicit trust, to the tuition

tuition of others ; or else they try the more dangerous alternative of attempting to carry into practice some of those crude and extravagant notions which they have gleaned from their desultory studies : For the mischief is, that all opinions on this subject lead to active consequences ; every theory is capable of being carried into practice ; and unfortunately, the most extravagant opinions have the strongest influence on the weakest minds. To such it never occurs, that the very refinement which they admire affords of itself a suspicion of error ; and that it rarely happens, that what is ingenious, novel, and out of the common road, is at the same time just and true. The latter characteristics are in general quite obvious, and within the sphere of an ordinary understanding. It is a great truth which cannot be too often inculcated ; *Quicquid nos vel meliores vel beatiores facturum est, aut in aperto, aut in proximo posuit Natura* *.

Lord Kames had turned his thoughts to the subject of education as a branch of moral duty ; and he would have regarded it as a breach of that duty, had he allowed weight to any other motive which prompted him to write on this subject, than the desire he had to be useful to his fellow-creatures. He therefore had no wish to extend his literary

Vol. II E e reputation,

Lord Kames' views on that subject.

* " Whatever is really necessary for man to know, either for the improvement of his moral nature, or the increase of his happiness, is, by the bounty of Providence, placed easily within the reach of his discovery."

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reputation, by this, the last of his works ; no passion to become the author of a system ; no ambition to distinguish himself by new or singular opinions. In a long and active life, and in the exercise of a profession, instructive above most others in the knowledge of the human mind, he had many opportunities of observing the power of habit in forming the character of man, and the effect of early discipline in the improvement of his moral and intellectual nature. As a parent, he had studied the capacities of the infant mind, and in a particular manner had directed his attention to the first developement of the passions, in the view of discovering the regimen most proper to mould the heart and the affections, the primary springs of man's right conduct in life. It appeared to him, that too little attention was commonly bestowed on this most important object of education ; while the care of the preceptor was usually limited to the cultivation of the understanding, or to the external accomplishments of the pupil. It was his opinion, that much preposterous labour was often employed, in forcing upon the tender mind of infancy, a premature knowledge of literature and the sciences ; which had the worst effect in straining the faculties, anticipating the gradual but sure progress of the understanding, and thus finally weakening, instead of improving, the mental powers. He saw, with yet more regret, that in the prevailing taste for frivolous outward embellishments, and the graces of deportment, much mischievous care was bestowed in effacing the native ingenuity of the characters
of

of infancy and youth, and substituting in its place, that varnish of politeness, and artifice of manners, which covers every deficiency of morality, and too often demands its sacrifice, as essential to the commerce of the world *.

Impressed with these sentiments, Lord Kames had occasionally committed to writing a variety of remarks on the subject of education, as they arose in his mind, either in canvassing the opinions of others, or in his observation of life and manners. These at length accumulating to a considerable extent, the idea naturally occurred of giving them a connected form, and throwing them into regular order. But this task was undertaken too late. The venerable Author

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* The system of *Lord Chesterfield*, in those celebrated Letters to his natural son, which are, with too many parents, the complete institute and manual of education, is built upon one single general precept: "Study the weaknesses of mankind, and take advantage of them for your own interest." To this great end, the *appearance* of virtue is essential, while its *reality* is absolutely pernicious. The cultivation of the understanding is necessary, as it enables us to mould the weak and ignorant to our purposes, and often to make our dupes even of men of ability. An elegance of address, and politeness of manners, are universally ingratiating: in these, the ladies are the best instructors; and the surest way to gain their favour, is to corrupt their virtue.—Astonishing! that doctrines thus flagrantly insulting to decency and good morals, and in which so little respect is paid to the common feelings, or even (as the author would perhaps term them) the prejudices of mankind, should have excited any other sentiment than a general indignation.

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was now in the 85th year of his age*. His faculties, though still wonderfully entire, had lost much of their energy : and although, from the influence of habit, his active mind was still engaged in its usual occupations, and found its accustomed pleasure in study and composition, its powers were sensibly affected by the decay of the animal frame. Apprehensive himself, as he often acknowledged with much solicitude, of this most frequent and most melancholy attendant on old age, and even conscious in some degree, as it would appear, of its approach, he hastened to bring this last work to a period ; “ willing” (as he says) “ rather that it should “ appear in a loose attire, than that he should end his life “ under the feeling of regret, that he had left any thing un- “ done that could benefit mankind.” Candour, therefore, and humanity itself, forbid the subjecting of a work composed under such circumstances, to the rigour of critical examination. It is enough to say, what even the severest judgment will allow, that the practical advices contained in this book, are, in general, the dictates of prudence, and the result of a wise and enlightened experience ; while the morality it conveys is founded on the solid basis of the relative duties of man, both to his God and to his fellow-creatures.

Religion a
main object
of attention.

In this plan of education, which regards chiefly the culture of the heart, Religion forms a capital object of attention.

* Lord Kames's *Loose Hints on Education* were published at Edinburgh in the year 1781.

tion. It was not Lord Kames's opinion, as it is of some modern writers on education, that on this most important subject, the mind of infancy should be left, without a guide, to wander in wild conjecture; or yet worse,—should be suffered to conceive, from the total neglect of such instruction from the parent or the tutor, while every other mental acquisition is carefully attended to, that Religion is of slight importance, or only the concern of vulgar minds.—That his own mind, vigorous and penetrating as it was, and ever free from prejudices, was deeply impressed with the great truths of Religion, and habitually imbued with the warmest sentiments of devotion, we see from the general strain of his moral and philosophical writings. It seemed, therefore, to him most essential, that Religion should form a main branch of education, even in the earliest period of infancy; and this for a reason more peculiarly consonant to his own theory of original instincts*, that Nature herself having implanted its principles in the human mind, it is expedient to strengthen in early life these useful impressions, and to preserve them pure from every taint of error or corruption. “ The being
“ of a God, and the worship due to Him, being engraven on
“ the mind, make a branch of our nature. As nature thus
“ takes the lead, it is the duty of parents to second nature.
“ They ought to inculcate into their children, that God is
“ their friend and heavenly Father; and that they ought to
“ perform

* See *suprà*, Book III. Chap. v. p. 132.

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“ perform his will, which is, to do all the good they can.
“ Convince them that God is always present, and that not
“ a thought can be concealed from him. Accompany every
“ one of your lessons with describing the Deity as benevo-
“ lent and humane, wishing the good of his creatures, and
“ rewarding the virtuous, if not in this life, assuredly in a
“ life to come *.”

On the subject of Revealed Religion, Lord Kames earnestly recommends it as a duty to the parent or preceptor to acquaint the child with its fundamental doctrines ; for as these are not imprinted on the mind, or discoverable by simple reason, independently of instruction, they would never be acquired at all. He combats with force that opinion, which recommends the delay of this salutary instruction, till the faculty of reason attains to maturity ; for long before that period, erroneous impressions may be received, and take such deep root, that no discipline will be able effectually to remove them. In conveying the knowledge of these great, but mysterious truths, to the infant understanding, the Author thus strongly urges the necessity of an enlightened care of the parent, to guard the tender mind from bigotry and superstition :

“ Teach your children to prefer their own religion ; but
“ inculcate at the same time, that the virtuous are accept-
“ able

* *Loose Hints on Education*, p. 162.

“ able to God, however erroneous in point of belief. Press
“ it home to them, that there is nothing in nature to hinder
“ different sects of Christians from living amicably together,
“ more than different sects of philosophers, or of men who
“ work in different arts: especially as the articles of faith
“ which distinguish these sects are purely speculative; they
“ have no relation to morals, nor any influence on our con-
“ duct. Yet from these distinctions have proceeded ran-
“ cour and animosity, as if our most important concerns
“ had been at stake. In a different view, the absurdity ap-
“ pears still more glaring. These articles, the greater part
“ at least, relate to subjects beyond the reach of human un-
“ derstanding. The Almighty, by his works of creation,
“ has made his wisdom and benevolence manifest: but he
“ has not found it necessary to explain to his creatures the
“ manner of his existence; and in all appearance the man-
“ ner of his existence is beyond the reach of our concep-
“ tions.—Persecution for the sake of religion would have
“ been entirely prevented by wholesome education, instilling
“ into the minds of young people, that difference of opinion
“ is no just cause of discord; and that different sects may
“ live amicably together. In a word, neglect no oppor-
“ tunity to impress on the mind of your pupils, that Re-
“ ligion is given for our good; and that no religion can be
“ true which tends to disturb the peace of society*.”

On

* *Loose Hints on Education*, p. 178.

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On this important subject, the Author, in supplement of his own remarks, has presented his reader, in the Appendix to the seventh section of his work, with a series of excellent practical observations by a different hand. These are known to have proceeded from the pen of a most respectable clergyman of the Established Church, with whom Lord Kames for many years lived in terms of the most intimate friendship; and by whose criticisms and suggestions he profited in several others of his works. It would have given me pleasure to have mentioned his name; but this his modesty has declined.

I cannot, however, forbear to make use of the venerable authority I have just now mentioned, for the following particulars, illustrative of Lord Kames's character, in reference to religion; and I give them in the writer's own words: "He was habitually devout, and his devout sentiments were most impressive. He would illustrate the wisdom of God from Final Causes, with great diversity and ingenuity of thought, and repose on Divine Benevolence with trust and resignation. I have heard him mention the light of immortality as an excellence peculiar to the doctrine of Christ. He gave unqualified praise to Butler's *Analogy*, which is a defence of Revealed, as well as of Natural Religion. He was regular in his attendance upon public worship; and during my abode with him, he had Divine worship in his family every evening. Sometimes he would
"advert

“ advert to the chapter which I read, with a marked relish
 “ for the sacred writings. I may mention one instance :
 “ He was reading a part of his *Sketches of the History of*
 “ *Man*, which says of Franklin’s parable * ; ‘ Were it really
 “ a

* The excellent parable here mentioned, though unstamped with the authority of the sacred writings, cannot be too generally known, or its import too seriously considered :

“ And it came to pass after these things, that Abraham sat in the door of
 “ his tent, about the going down of the sun. And behold a man bent with
 “ age, coming from the way of the wilderness, leaning on a staff. And
 “ Abraham arose and met him, and said unto him, Turn in, I pray thee,
 “ and wash thy feet, and tarry all night, and thou shalt arise early in the
 “ morning, and go on thy way. And the man said, Nay ; for I will abide
 “ under this tree. But Abraham entreated him greatly : so he turned, and
 “ they went into the tent : and Abraham baked unleavened bread, and they
 “ did eat. And when Abraham saw that the man blessed not God, he said
 “ unto him, Wherefore dost thou not worship the Most High God, Creator of
 “ heaven and earth ? And the man answered and said, I do not worship thy
 “ God, neither do I call upon his name ; for I have made to myself a God,
 “ which abideth always in mine house, and provideth me with all things.
 “ And Abraham’s zeal was kindled against the man, and he arose, and fell
 “ upon him, and drove him forth with blows into the wilderness. And God
 “ called unto Abraham, saying, Abraham, where is the stranger ? And
 “ Abraham answered and said, Lord, he would not worship thee, nei-
 “ ther would he call upon thy name ; therefore have I driven him out from
 “ before my face into the wilderness. And God said, Have I borne with
 “ him these hundred ninety and eight years, and nourished him, and clothed
 “ him, notwithstanding his rebellion against me ; and couldst not thou, who
 “ art thyself a sinner, bear with him one night ?”

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“ a chapter of *Genesis*, one is apt to think that persecution
“ could never have shewn a bare face among Jews and
“ Christians.’ When we were called to family-worship, I
“ read the fourteenth chapter of the *Epistle to the Romans*,
“ and I observed, that immediately after prayer, he went
“ and dictated the following passage : ‘ But alas ! that is a
“ vain thought. Such a passage in the *Old Testament* would
“ avail as little against the rancorous passions of men, as
“ the following passages in the *New Testament* ; though per-
“ secution cannot be condemned in terms more explicit :
“ *Him that is weak in the faith receive you, &c.* inserting a
“ great part of the chapter from St Paul *verbatim*.”

CHAP.

CHAPTER III.

Latter period of Lord Kames's life.—Decline of his health.—His correspondence continues with Dr Reid.—Marriage of his Son.—Letter to Mrs Montagu.—Progress of his last illness.—His death.—Some particulars of his character, manners, and opinions.—His conversation.—Dislike to political topics.—His high sense of duty.—Love of fame.—His philosophy a rational Stoicism.—Conclusion.

LORD KAMES had hitherto enjoyed an uncommon share of good health; and at the very advanced age of eighty-five, was free from any chronical disease, or even from those symptoms of bodily infirmity, which are the usual attendants of the decline of life. His constitution, though never apparently strong, was remarkably sound; and although his manner of living was sociable, and at no time repugnant to moderate indulgences, it had on the whole been temperate. The practice of regular exercise in the open air, and his frequent journeys, had happily counteracted the injury his health must otherwise have sustained from his habits of intense study. His faculties were still remarkably entire; and

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although

CHAP. III.

Latter period of Lord Kames' life.

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although a slight failure of memory, and some abatement of that quickness of apprehension for which he was so much distinguished, gave the first intimation of a diminished vigour of mind, he was not only able to continue the discharge of his public duties, but to relish the society of his friends, and solace himself with his usual literary occupations.

He continued to enjoy those small and select evening parties, which usually met at his house, during the winter and summer sessions, without invitation ; where, from the agreeable intermixture of the guests, literary conversation was happily blended with innocent mirth and pleasantry. At these meetings, it was the envied privilege of a few of his younger friends, to find a place ; and the graver conversation of a SMITH, a BLAIR, and a FERGUSON, was agreeably tempered and enlivened by the native wit, the splendid abilities, and the engaging manners of a CULLEN* ; or the sprightly fancy, and whimsical eccentricity of a BOSWELL.—He attended regularly, even to the last period of his life, the meetings of the Philosophical Society, and took an active share in their proceedings. The plan of the formation of the Royal Society of Edinburgh was at that time in agitation, and he entered warmly into a scheme which promised to promote his favourite objects, the improvement of literature

* The Honourable ROBERT CULLEN, now one of the Judges of the Courts of Session and Justiciary.

ture and useful science.—But the period was now at hand, which was to close his course of virtue and beneficence.

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In the beginning of the year 1782, when he had now nearly completed his 86th year, he was seized with a disorder of the bowels ; a complaint which, from being attended with no pain, gave him for a considerable time very little apprehension. Perceiving, however, after some months, that though perhaps retarded in its progress, the disease had not yielded to medicine or regimen, he began, towards the end of summer, to regard it as likely to terminate fatally, and that even at no distant period. Meantime, his family and friends, who saw him in the possession of his usual cheerfulness and vivacity, and still applying with ardour to his accustomed pursuits, took no alarm ; and the tender regard which he felt for Mrs Drummond, prevented him from imparting to her his own apprehensions.

Decline of
his health.

In the course of this summer, his correspondence was frequent with his much valued friend Dr REID, on various topics of philosophy ;—a correspondence which, notwithstanding the dissimilarity of character in many respects between these two eminent men, had now subsisted, for a long period of years, with the most perfect cordiality and mutual esteem. On this subject, I am happy to avail myself of a testimony most honourable to both ;—a testimony
the

His correspondence
continues
with Dr
Reid.

BOOK IV.

the more valuable, that it is the result, not only of a discriminating judgment, but of an intimate acquaintance and friendship, with both the persons to whom it relates :
“ With one very distinguished character, the late Lord
“ Kames,” says Mr STEWART, “ he (Dr Reid) lived in the
“ most cordial and affectionate friendship, notwithstanding
“ the avowed opposition of their sentiments, on some moral
“ questions, to which he attached the greatest importance.
“ Both of them, however, were the friends of virtue and of
“ mankind ; and both were able to temper the warmth of
“ free discussion, with the forbearance and good humour
“ founded on reciprocal esteem. No two men, certainly,
“ ever exhibited a more striking contrast in their conversa-
“ tion, or in their constitutional tempers :—the one slow
“ and cautious in his decisions, even on those topics which
“ he had most diligently studied ; reserved and silent in
“ promiscuous society ; and retaining, after all his literary
“ eminence, the same simple and unassuming manners which
“ he brought from his country residence :—the other, lively,
“ rapid, and communicative ; accustomed by his profes-
“ sional pursuits, to wield with address the weapons of con-
“ troversy, and not averse to a trial of his powers on que-
“ stions the most foreign to his ordinary habits of inquiry.
“ But these characteristical differences, while to their com-
“ mon friends they lent an additional charm to the dis-
“ tinguishing merits of each, served only to enliven their
“ social

“ social intercourse, and to cement their mutual attachment *.”

CHAP. III.

A family event which took place about this time, gave Lord Kames the most sincere satisfaction. This was the marriage of his only son, Mr DRUMMOND-HOME to Miss JARDINE, daughter of an old and valued friend, the Reverend JOHN JARDINE, D. D. one of the Ministers of Edinburgh †. It was the only circumstance wanting to his domestic felicity, and that of his excellent spouse. It had been long and earnestly wished for by both ; and no connexion which their son could form, could be more entirely approved ; as they saw in that union the prospect of all the happiness that the talents and virtues of a wife can ensure to her husband ‡.

Marriage of
his Son.

During

* *Account of the Life and Writings of Thomas Reid, D. D.* p. 141. It may not be displeasing to the reader, to see both a public and private testimony to the merits of Lord Kames, from the pen of his venerable friend Dr REID ; and these he will find at NO. IV. of the Appendix.

† A cadet of the family of Applegirth in Dumfries-shire.

‡ It was of the same young Lady, whom her father-in-law had known from infancy, that he gave to a friend this high, but merited character, “ That she “ never spoke when she ought to have preserved silence ; and never was silent when she ought to have spoken.”—I question, whether so comprehensive an eulogy was ever made in so few words.

BOOK IV.

During the summer term of 1782, Lord Kames gave the most regular attendance on his official duty in the Courts of Session and Justiciary, and at the end of the term, went, as usual, with his family to Blair-Drummond. As his decline was now too visible, Mrs Drummond became solicitous to prevail with him to excuse himself from attending the autumn circuit; but no entreaty to that purpose was of any avail: "It is very possible," said he to his daughter-in-law, "that this journey may shorten my life a little space;—but what then? have I not lived long enough?"

On his return from the circuit, his strength decreased daily, and he was no longer able to take his accustomed walks over his grounds: but the serenity and cheerfulness of his temper remained unabated. He spent a great part of the day in study; and in the evenings took much delight in conversing with his family, and in hearing his daughter-in-law read to him. His bookseller, Mr Creech, with whom he was in the habit of frequent and familiar correspondence, having informed him that a new edition would soon be wanted of his *Sketches of the History of Man*, he employed himself occasionally in making corrections, not merely of the style, but, in several places, of the thought and argument. On this subject, the following letter to Mrs Montagu, when we consider the circumstances under which it was written, (within a very few weeks of his death), is a wonderful specimen of intellectual power:

“ Blair-

“ *Blair-Drummond, October 29. 1782.*

“ MY GOOD, MY CORDIAL FRIEND,

“ Decay is stamped upon whatever passes in this world. Even sacred friendship has this fatal tendency to dissolution, and to preserve it for any length of time in vigour, requires good offices, or at least a frequent communication of sentiments. The latter only is in my power; and as there are few things I value above your friendship, I am resolved that you shall not forget me; a little mental sustenance from time to time will prevent decay.

Letter to
Mrs Mon-
tagu.

“ In reviewing the *Sketches of the History of Man*, to prepare for a new edition, I have discovered a capital omission, which I purpose to supply, at p. 208. vol. iv. As of late years, I find a decay of memory with regard to things recent, I am not quite certain, whether I may not have sent you a copy of my intended addition some little time ago. If I have, it is but throwing this letter into the fire. The addition is as follows:

“ Some philosophers there are, not indeed so hardened in scepticism, as to deny the existence of a Deity. They acknowledge a self-existent Being; and seem willing to bestow on that Being, power, wisdom, and every other perfection. But then they maintain, That the world, or matter at least, must also be self-existent. Their argument is, that

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Ex nihilo nihil fit ; that it is inconsistent to hold, that any thing can be made out of nothing, out of a nonentity. To consider nothing, or a *nonens*, as a material or substance out of which things can be formed, like a statue out of stone, or a sword out of iron, is, I acknowledge, a gross absurdity. But I perceive no absurdity or inconsistency in supposing that matter itself was brought into existence by Almighty Power ; and the popular expression, that God made the world out of nothing, has no other meaning, than that He made the materials, as well as the objects themselves. It is true, that in the operations of men, nothing can be produced, but from antecedent materials ; and so accustomed are we to such operations, as not readily to conceive how a thing can be brought into existence without antecedent materials, or, as it is commonly expressed, made out of nothing. But will any man in sober sense venture to set bounds to Almighty Power, where he cannot point out a clear inconsistency ? It is indeed difficult to conceive a thing so remote from common apprehension ; but is there less difficulty in conceiving matter to exist without a cause, and to be entitled to the awful appellation of *Self-existent*, like the Lord of the Universe, to whom a more exalted appellation cannot be given ? Now, if it be within the utmost verge of possibility for matter to have been created, I conclude, with the highest probability on my side, that it owes its existence to Almighty Power. Difficulties about the creation of matter, testify our ignorance ; but to argue from our ignorance of the mode of

of being of any thing, that it cannot be, has always been held very weak reasoning. Our faculties are adapted to our present state, and perform their office in perfection : but to complain that they do not reach the origin of things, is no less absurd than to complain that we cannot ascend to the moon, in order to be acquainted with its inhabitants.

“ At the same time it is a comfortable reflection, that the question, whether matter was created, or no, is a pure, inconsequential speculation, and that either side may be adopted without impiety. To me, it appears more simple, and more natural, to hold it to be a work of creation, than to be self-existent, and consequently independent of the Almighty, either to create, or to annihilate. I cheerfully make the former an article in my creed ; but without anathematizing those who adopt the latter. I would, however, have it understood, that I limit my concession to matter in its rude and chaotic state : I cannot possibly go so far as to comprehend the world or universe in its orderly or systematic form. That immense machine, composed of parts without number, so artfully combined as to fulfil an infinite variety of useful ends and purposes, must be the work of an Artist, the production of a Great Being, Omniscient, as well as Omnipotent. To assign blind fatality as the cause, is an insufferable absurdity.

G g 2

“ You

BOOK IV.

"You have heard, my dear Madam, of the recent event in my family. I never gave my Son but one counsel, as to the choice of a wife; which was, to make personal merit his object, without regard to external circumstances. He has followed my advice; and never was a couple united upon more rational motives; for the choice followed upon a long acquaintance, at the commencement of which, neither of them had, or could have, any prospect of being united.—I ever am, yours, &c.

HENRY HOME."

"P. S. If there should be any thing fitted to give offence in the passage quoted above; of which I am not sensible, I beg to be informed of it: and for this reason, request you would shew it to some of the Bishops of your acquaintance, by whose opinion I shall be regulated *."

Progress of
his last ill-
ness.

Sensible of his rapid decline, his family now became extremely anxious for his removal to Edinburgh; in the faint hope, that some benefit might arise from the excellent medical advice of which he would there have the advantage: and although he had not himself the smallest hope of that kind, he willingly acquiesced in the proposal, from motives of a different nature. Besides gratifying the earnest wishes of

* Mrs MONTAGU's answer to this letter, the reader will find at NO. V. of the Appendix.

of Mrs Drummond, as the winter session was now near at hand, he pleased himself with the thought, that he might be able to continue, to the last hours of his life, in the exercise of his duty.

For the following interesting particulars, I am indebted to the information of his daughter-in-law, to whom alone they were known; and I am anxious to give them, as nearly as I can, in her own words.—A very few days before his departure from Blair-Drummond, in a short walk which he took with her in the garden, he desired her to sit down by him on one of the benches; saying he felt himself much fatigued; and adding, that he was sensible he was now growing weaker every day. On her expressing a hope, that, on going to town, his friend Dr Cullen, who knew his constitution, might be able to give him some advice that would be of service to him; and that she flattered herself, his disease had been rather less troublesome to him for some time past; “My dear child,” said he, looking in her face with an earnest and animated expression, “Don’t talk of my disease; “I have no disease but old age. I know that Mrs Drummond and my Son are of a different opinion; but why “should I distress them sooner than is necessary. I know “well that no physician on earth can do me the smallest “service: for I feel that I am dying; and I thank God, “that my mind is prepared for that event. I leave this “world in peace and good-will to all mankind.—You know “the

BOOK IV.

“ the dread I have had of outliving my faculties ; of that I
 “ trust there is now no great probability, as my body de-
 “ cays so fast.—My life has been a long one ; and prospe-
 “ rous, on the whole, beyond my deserts : but I would fain
 “ indulge the hope, that it has not been useless to my fel-
 “ low-creatures. My last wish regarded my Son and you,
 “ my dear child ; and I have lived to see it accomplished :
 “ I am now ready to obey my Maker’s summons.”——He
 then poured forth a short but solemn and impressive prayer.
 On leaving the garden, he said, “ This is my last farewell to
 “ this place : I think I shall never see it more. I go to
 “ town chiefly to satisfy Mrs Drummond,—otherwise I could
 “ willingly have remained here. But go where I will, I am
 “ in the hands of Almighty God.”

His death.

He left Blair-Drummond in the beginning of November ;
 and the Court of Session meeting soon after, for the winter,
 he went thither on the first day of the term, and took his
 seat with the rest of the Judges. He continued for some
 little time to attend the meetings of the Court, and to take
 his share in its usual business, but soon became sensible that
 his strength was not equal to the effort. On the last day of
 his attendance, he took a separate and affectionate farewell
 of each of his brethren. He survived that period only about
 eight days. He died on the 27th of December 1782, in the
 87th year of his age. A letter which he wrote within a few
 days of his death to Lord Gardenstone, as a member of the
 Board

Board of Trustees for Arts and Manufactures; and a personal application which he made within the same period, to his friend Mr Arbuthnot *, the Secretary of the same Board, in behalf of a very deserving man, who had fallen into indigence, bear testimony, that his mind was occupied, even in its last moments, with matters of public concern, and of private beneficence.

Lord Kames was in his person extremely tall, and of a thin and slender make. In his latter years, he had a considerable stoop in his gait; but when in the vigour of life, and particularly when in his dress of a barrister, his appearance is said to have been uncommonly becoming. His countenance, though not handsome, was animated and intelligent, and was strongly marked by that benignity of disposition which was a prominent feature of his mind †. In ordinary discourse,

* ROBERT ARBUTHNOT, Esq; F. R. S. Edin. Secretary to the Board of Trustees for the Encouragement of Arts and Manufactures,—a most worthy and amiable man; who, with an elegant and polished mind, united a delicate vein of wit, and singular talents for conversation, with the gentlest manners, the kindest affections, and the best virtues of the heart.

† The engraving, which serves as a frontispiece to this work, and which was executed by Mr Beugo, from an original drawing by Mr David Martin, (Painter to the Prince of Wales for Scotland), conveys a very strong resemblance, both of the countenance and expression, and of the person and air of Lord Kames, in the latter years of his life.

In

BOOK IV.

discourse, his accent and pronunciation were like those of the better educated of his countrymen of the last age. The tone was not displeasing from its vulgarity ; and though the idiom, and frequently the phrases, were peculiar to the Scottish dialect, his language was universally intelligible.

Some particulars of his character, manners and opinions.

As in the course of the preceding pages, I have not willingly omitted any circumstance that I thought truly descriptive of this eminent man, either in an intellectual or moral point of view, where it could with propriety be introduced ; and have taken notice of the more distinguished peculiarities of his manners, temper, and habits of life, it is unnecessary to add to the length of these Memoirs, by any formal delineation of his character. A few circumstances, however, yet remain to be mentioned, which have either been too slightly touched, or which could not so easily find a place in the chain of the narrative.

A strong feature of Lord Kames's disposition, was an artless simplicity and ingenuity, which led him at all times to express without reserve both his feelings and his opinions. This propensity gave frequently an appearance of bluntness of manner, which was apt to impress a stranger unfavourably,

In compliance with what seems at present a very general taste, two plates are added, containing specimens of Lord Kames's handwriting. These are inserted immediately before the Appendix to this Volume.

ably, as erring against those lesser proprieties of behaviour, so necessary in the commerce of the world. But this impression was momentary; the same frankness of nature displayed at once both the defect and its cause: it laid open the integrity of his character, and that perfect candour, which, judging always most favourably of others, was unconscious of harbouring a thought which required concealment or disguise.

He had likewise a certain humorous playfulness, which, to those who knew him intimately, detracted nothing from the feeling of respect due to his eminent talents and virtues. To such, it was, the *discinctus ludus, et animi remissio* of a Scipio or a Lælius, the pleasing relaxation of a great mind from the intense severity of its usual employments. To those to whom he was less known, and to strangers, it might indeed convey the idea of a lightness, derogating from that dignity which one so naturally associates with an eminent character. But this first impression, as in the former instance, was of no continuance. It was dispelled at once by that vigour of intellect which his conversation never failed to display; and the same peculiarity which at first was blamed, became now both amusing and ingratiating, as it made every one feel perfectly at ease in his company.

The playfulness of manner to which I have alluded, may have arisen in great part from the delight which he always took in the company and conversation of young persons of either sex. A few of these, who were more particularly his

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favourites,

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favourites, mingled in all his domestic parties*. His spouse, whose habits and affections were in every thing assimilated to his own, enjoyed equally the society of her younger female friends; and generally had some amiable and accomplished young person of her own sex who lived with her and made a part of the family; especially in the country; where the evenings were enlivened by cheerful conversation, the perusal of some amusing works of fancy, or music, in which Lord Kames took particular pleasure. In the gaiety of spirits attending ingenuous youth, and in the openness of character which accompanies that happy period of life, it must be a hard and rugged nature that does not feel a temporary sympathy; and a frequent repetition of any indulgence or affection will impress a permanent tone of mind.

He had a high esteem and respect for the female sex; regarding Woman in her true, and most dignified light, as the kindest partner of man's social affections, the solace of his cares and anxieties, the cordial friend in whom he never finds a rival. It was most natural, that the excellent qualities of his own partner should contribute much to this favourable opinion; which doubtless was still increased by the intimate acquaintance and sincere friendships it was his lot to form, with some of the worthiest and most accomplished women of the past and present age.

His

* Among these, I enumerate with pleasure some of my own earliest friends, —W. ADAM, J. ANSTRUTHER (Sir J. A.), W. MACDOWALL, and W. FULLERTON, Esqrs.

His manner in conversation was extremely animated ; and he was ready to engage with interest in almost every topic that occurred, whether of ordinary life, literature, or science. Yet, though thus naturally communicative, he was not loquacious ; nor was he ever apt, like some men of science, to harangue or lecture to his audience. Conversation was with him a free interchange of sentiments ; and he was equally pleased to draw forth and listen to those of others, as to express his own. Though fond of an argument, he never betrayed the smallest heat of temper ; but delivered his opinions with so much good humour and vivacity, as always to amuse and please, even where he failed to convince his antagonist.

CHAP. III.
His conversation.

There was indeed one subject of conversation, and that too one of the most frequent in mixed companies, in which he was never disposed willingly to engage. For the discussion of those topics of a political nature, which make so great a part of the ordinary discourse in such companies, he had a strong dislike. Allowing its due importance to that valuable privilege of British subjects, to exercise a free judgment on the conduct of their rulers, and openly to declare that judgment, when it is the result of a candid and enlightened inquiry ; he regarded it as the height of folly and self-conceit in those persons of ordinary capacity and limited information, who have no other knowledge of public affairs than is supplied by the newspapers, or the talk of the coffee-

Dislike to political topics.

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house,

BOOK IV.

house, to vent their crude opinions on matters of State, or to decide on the conduct of Ministers, and the counsels and measures of Government. He saw likewise that the canvassing of topics of that sort in mixed society, has generally the effect of kindling the passions, and rousing those animosities which embitter social intercourse, and keep up the spirit of faction. He therefore at no time introduced such subjects of discourse; and when the conversation chanced to take that turn, which rarely happened among those who knew his dislike to them, he either took no part in it, or endeavoured to divert it by some timely pleasantry, or guide it with address into a different channel. There is perhaps another reason, why that sort of discourse was peculiarly distasteful to him. He was naturally of a sanguine disposition, and had nothing in his temperament of that gloomy forecast, and dispiriting anticipation of public evil, from any temporary misfortune or misconduct, which furnishes the usual topic of such conversation. It was his happy turn of mind, to look to the bright side of every future prospect; and with the favourable opinion he possessed of human nature, and yet more, the trust he reposed in an overruling Providence, he was not disposed to see, in any change of circumstances, however unpromising, a just cause for that despondency, which in itself is one of the worst of evils.

His high
sense of
duty.

He had a strong sense of that perfect rectitude of mind which is expected in the character of a Judge; and thought it

it

it a derogation to suppose it possible, that any person deemed worthy to hold that office, should allow his interest or his passions in any case to sway or to pervert his judgment. So powerful indeed was this feeling, that he seemed to regard it in some measure as a personal injury, when the integrity of a Chief Magistrate was on any occasion brought into question, or his character made the subject of censure. Thus, he felt strongly the indignity offered to the judicial character, by the publication of certain letters addressed to a Chief-Justice of England, in which that great Judge, whose probity and uprightness of mind were as conspicuous as his high abilities, was held forth to the public as prostituting his talents, and perverting justice, to serve the purposes of private malevolence and personal prejudice. So likewise he felt with regard to the *Letters of Junius*, which, allowing for the display of talents, and for every ornament they possess of style and composition, he deemed a flagrant transgression of decorum, and a disgusting picture of the rancour of party-spirit. It was indeed difficult for him at any time to separate the idea of personal satire from a malignity of nature, under whatever form it appeared.

It was in such instances as I have mentioned, that he frequently expressed a doubt of the beneficial effects of a liberty of the press, altogether so unlimited as what is generally understood to prevail in this country. The free publication

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cation of certain speculative opinions in Politics and Theology, is allowed to be attended with dangerous consequences; yet the press furnishes at the same time the means of exposing and refuting those opinions; and truth and good sense will ultimately prevail over folly and error. But the calumnies of which an individual is the object, admit frequently of no remedy: fortune and fame may be lost beyond recovery; or the unhappy victim perish at once, the martyr of "a wounded spirit."

Love of
fame.

In reflecting on the whole tenor of this long and active life, and particularly on the wonderful industry displayed in the composition of those numerous works which Lord Kames has left to posterity, while a great portion of his time was necessarily engrossed by his public duties, we cannot avoid the belief, that he felt in a very strong degree the love of reputation, and that this was indeed a ruling principle of his nature. But what is the love of reputation, but the desire to acquire the esteem of others; which cannot be purchased, unless by the possession of those qualities, and the performance of those actions that deserve esteem? He acknowledged, therefore, with pride, his sensibility to that generous passion; and attending to its universal influence on all but the most degraded of the species, he justly accounted it an useful and beautiful part of the moral structure of man; and one of the many instances in which the selfish

and

and social principles of his nature, are happily conciliated and united *.

CHAP. III.

Of the principal doctrines of Lord Kames's Philosophy, I have occasionally taken notice, in the short accounts I have endeavoured to give of those works of his, in which they are contained. A summary of them may be found in the *Recapitulation* at the end of his *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*, and in the excellent *Prayer* which concludes that work †.

His philosophy a rational Stoicism.

On a comprehensive view of his speculative opinions, they will be found to bear, in many points, a strong affinity to the more rational doctrines of the Stoical School, both as they relate to the system of the universe, the moral conduct of man, and the pursuit of the highest happiness of his nature. Believing the universe to be the work of an All-wise and supremely beneficent Being, whose Providence continues to superintend and regulate every part of that complicated machine, he regarded the whole system to be so contrived, as both by its physical and moral laws, to produce the greatest possible sum of general good ‡. Man he considered

* See *Elements of Criticism*, Chap. II. Part. VII.

† See Appendix, NO. VI.

‡ Τα τῶν Θεῶν κρῶναι, μέγα. Τα τῆς τύχης καὶ αὐτῆς φύσεως, ἡ συγκύρωσις, καὶ ἐπιτοκῆς τῶν κρῶναι δυνάμεων. Πάντα ἐκείνην ρεῖ· προσεσι δὲ το ἀσθενέων, καὶ το τῶ ὅλῳ κόσμῳ συμβῆναι.

considered as an instrument in the hand of God, to accomplish that great purpose; fitted by the active principles of his nature to contribute powerfully to that end; and having his moral frame so admirably constituted, as to find his own chief happiness, while he most effectually promotes the welfare and happiness of his fellow-creatures*.

In the free consent of Man to fulfil this end of his being; by accommodating his mind to the Divine Will, and thus endeavouring to discharge his part in society, with cheerful zeal, with perfect integrity, with manly resolution, and with an entire resignation to the decrees of Providence, lies the sum and essence of his duty†.

But

φειρον, ἢ μέρος αἱ. “Whatever the Gods ordain is full of the wisest providence. What we attribute to fortune, does not happen, but through a concurrence of circumstances directed by the wisest foresight. All things flow from thence. There is a necessity in events; but even that is directed to the utility of the great system of which you are a part.”—M. ANTONINUS, lib. 2. § 3.

* Οὕτως καὶ ὁ ἀνθρώπος εὐεργητικός πεφικώς, ὁποῦται τι εὐεργητικὸν ἢ ἀλλὰς αἰς τὰ μὲν εὐεργητικὸν πρᾶξι, πεποιθὲς πρὸς ὃ μετασυνασται, καὶ ἔχει τὸ ἑαυτοῦ. “So likewise man, being born for the purposes of benevolence, whenever he does a good and kind action, does that for which Nature ordained him, and has his own reward in it.”—*Ibid.* lib. 9. § 42.

† Πάν μοι συναρμοῖται ὃ σοὶ εὐαρμολογία ἐστὶ, ἢ κόσμος. Οὐδὲν μοι προῦρον, ἔδει ὀφείμιον, τὸ σοὶ εὐκαιροῦν· πάν μοι καρπὸς ὃ φερέσθαι αἱ ναὶ ἄραι, ἢ φύσις. Ἐκ σὲ πάντα, ἐν σοὶ πάντα, αἰς σὲ πάντα.

But in one respect he differed essentially from the Stoical maxims, at least from the more severe and rigid philosophy of Epictetus, that, regarding every passion of the human frame as a necessary and useful part of our constitution, it was, as he conceived, the duty of the philosopher and moralist, not to subdue and extinguish, but to moderate and temper those affections and emotions, which, under just regulation, are the springs of individual felicity, and of the welfare of society.

It was his firm persuasion, that as the happiness of man, and the right discharge of his duties are, by the order of nature,

“Whatever is agreeable to thee shall be agreeable to me, O thou Soul of the Universe! Nothing shall be to me too early or too late, which is in thy appointed time. Every thing, O God of Nature, which thy seasons bring, is seasonable to me. From Thee are all things, in Thee they have their being, and to Thee at last they return.”—*Ibid.* lib. 4. § 23. *Εὐχὴ οὐρανὸν καὶ ἅπαντα συνδίδω, κατὰ χρόνον οὐρανὸν οἷς τίς τι κατὰ φύσιν ἔσται.* “Submit yourself with good-will to your destiny, resigning yourself implicitly to what is ordained by Providence.”—*Ibid.* lib. 4. § 34.

Or, in the beautiful lines of GROTIUS, imitated from CLEANTHES.

Latet sors indeprensa futuri
 Scit, qui sollicitum me vetat esse, Deus.
 Duc Genitor me magne : Sequar quocunque vocabor,
 Seu tu læta mihi, seu mihi dura paras.
 Sistis in hac vita? maneo, partemque tuebor
 Quas dedecis : revocas Optime? promptus eo.

HUG. GROTIUS in *Natalium Trigesimum.*

BOOK IV.

ture, inseparable, it is most essential that he should form a proper estimate of the extent of those duties : and here, too, his opinions deviated considerably from the doctrines of the Stoical School. As the Stoics carried their notions of the duty of active benevolence so far as to embrace in its wide circle the whole of the human race ; as being all equally the creatures and the care of Providence, whose instruments we are, for the general good * ; it was Lord Kames's idea, that an affection so unbounded is unsuitable to the limited capacity and imperfect nature of man. As man is not capable, from the small extent of his powers, to promote the general happiness of the human race, so his natural affections do not prompt him to endeavour the accomplishment of an unattainable object. These affections, instead of being increased, are weakened by division ; and universal benevolence, by extending to a boundless multiplicity of objects, would so divide and parcel out the attention and affection of the individual, as to leave him utterly at a loss where the active exercise of his duty should begin. The wiser economy of nature leaves no such disproportion between man's abilities and his affections. The superior love which he bears to his relations and friends, clearly indicates them as the first objects

* Μιμνται δὲ ὅτι συγγενὲς παντὶ τοῦ λογικοῦ. Καὶ ὅτι κινδυνεύει μὲν παντὶν ἀνθρώπων, κατὰ τὴν τῶ ἀνθρώπου φύσιν εἶναι. "Remember that every rational being is of thy kindred, and it is according to nature to take care of every human creature."—M. ANTONINUS, lib. 3. § 4.

jects of his social duties ; a share of his affection remains for the worthiest of his neighbours and acquaintance ; but the attraction is diminished as its sphere extends, till it becomes at length insensible. But here, according to Lord Kames's notion, there occurs a beautiful contrivance of Nature to supply the want of benevolence to distant objects. The abstract ideas of country, religion, government, nay human nature, or mankind itself, have a power of exciting our benevolence, when nearer and stronger claims exist not to supplant it. " The particular objects under each of these " classes, considered singly and apart, may have little or no " force to produce affection ; but when comprehended under one general view, they become an object that dilates " and warms the heart." It is in this sense only, according to his notion, that man is endowed with a principle of universal benevolence *.

But within that smaller sphere of the affections, which is circumscribed by the ties of kindred, friends, acquaintance, and fellow-citizens, how ample, how rich a field for that active virtue in which consists the supreme happiness of man : how noble a triumph in regulating his own desires, correcting his errors, and subduing those evil passions, which are

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the

* *Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion*, 3d edition, p. 58. ; and *Sketches of the History of Man*, Book III. Sk. 2. i. § 4.

BOOK IV.

the worst enemies of his peace : How glorious a reward is the animating thought, that in this transitory state, he has been a minister of good to his fellow-creatures, and that even a distant posterity may acknowledge him its benefactor !

Conclusion.

On these worthy principles was formed the life of that eminent man, of whom I have endeavoured to present a picture in these Memoirs. And however faint and imperfect that delineation may be ; as I am conscious of having, to the utmost of my power, endeavoured to give it the characters of truth and fidelity, I am not without the pleasing hope, that with these fair intentions, the utility of the purpose may plead in excuse for the errors and defects of its execution.—A biographical account of a man of letters is necessarily, in a great measure, the history of his writings : But as a natural curiosity thence arises for every thing that personally regards an eminent character, a separate department is opened to the biographer, in the details of his public and private life ; his manners, his habits, and his occupations. Nor are these without their use ; for they realize and embody the image in the mind, and give form and features to that picture, which would otherwise be too vague and abstract to be distinctly figured by the imagination.—If to both of these sources of rational interest, another should yet be added, and the labours and the life of an individual should be found to extend their influence in a most sensible degree

degree to his age and country, the subject they present becomes altogether one of the most useful and engaging that are to be found in the varied fields of literature. But in proportion to the magnitude, is the difficulty of treating such a subject; and how justly may he who has rashly adventured on this arduous task, dread the stern reproof,

Tecum habita, et nobis quàm sit tibi curta expeller!

THE END.

APPEN.

Specimens of Lord. Kames's handwriting.

1. *From a commonplace Book written probably about 1725.* Aristotle sets the misery of a Vicious Constiduen in a beautiful & uncommon Light. After shewing that Friendship can be only truly found in Virtue; he draws it as a consequence that a Wicked Man cannot have any real Esteem or Friendship for himself, but on the contrary, that a clear View of his own Deformity and Depravity, must necessarily create Disgust if not Hatred: How what a Life must that Wretch lead who is thus with himself in continual Enmity?
2. *From detached notes written about 1755.* Having a prospect of some curious matter in respecting this Subject, I beg permission of ^{the} ~~my~~ Reader to amuse myself with it at leisure. Several ingenious & writers have attempted to account for this singular fact, but in vain according to my Judgement
3. *Inscribed on a copy of Remarkable Decisions of the Court of Session. Published in 1766.*

To his kindly Friend and cheerful Companion
Mr William Fytler
Presented by the Compiler
Henry Home

4. From detached notes written in 1772.

In old times every nation had Bards before writing was common. Men have naturally a relish stories of their own species, and it enhances greatly the pleasure to have such stories put in such a measure as to be accompanied with music: a pleasant song of that kind was agreeable: it was entertaining when the voice was accompanied with the harp or other musical instrument. It required an ear, a voice, and ~~an act~~ ^{a skill} in ~~a musical~~ ^{a performance} instrumental music to excel in such ~~an entertainment~~, ^{a performance} who talents which fell to the share of few. Hence the profession of a Bard ^{who was} ~~was~~ in great repute and an essential member in every ~~an~~ festival and in every meeting for amusement.

5. Subscription to a Letter dated 12th. April 1776.

Yours while I know myself
to be
Henry Home

APPENDIX

TO

VOLUME SECOND.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

LETTERS *from the Reverend Dr JOSIAH TUCKER, (Dean of Gloucester), to Lord KAMES, on subjects chiefly relating to Political Economy.*

I. *On the Comparative Advantages of a Rich and a Poor Country for Manufactures.*

MY LORD,

London, July 6. 1758.

I HAVE many excuses to make, and apologies to offer, for not writing sooner. But though my particular situation in regard to my views of preferment, (of which 'tis possible that Mr Robertson may have given your Lordship some information), might plead in my favour, yet I rely more on your goodness, than on any other consideration. However, I have at least succeeded in my wishes, having had the honour to kiss his Majesty's hand, four days ago, for the Deanery of Gloucester.

When persons are desirous of atoning for their offences, they generally make presents. I will try to appease your Lordship in the same way : and if I am not mistaken, the inclosed will be no unacceptable present to one of your Lordship's character. The author is

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my honoured friend, and formerly my patron; and as he does not make the piece public, I requested of him to give me some copies for the use of my friends, and particularly for your Lordship.

I beg my respectful compliments to Mr David Hume, with thanks for his ingenious animadversions. They are very plausible and well urged; but fall short of conviction: And I must observe in general upon this argument, both to your Lordship and Mr Hume, That as you allow all the matter of fact, viz. That the rich industrious country doth sell all manner of *complete* manufactures cheaper than the poor industrious country, it is of little consequence to the main of the argument, whether I can rightly account for this phænomenon or not. Be it, that I am mistaken, yet the matter of fact is the same: and while that holds good—and no one exception can be brought against it in all history—my general position must be right, though my method of accounting for it may be judged unsatisfactory. If such is the effect, a cause there must be; though I may have assigned a wrong one.

As to the phrase of a country increasing in commerce and manufactures *ad infinitum*; I except against the term; and would not choose that my poor *finite* understanding should be involved in disquisitions about *infinites*. It is sufficient for this purpose to say, That the progress would be indefinite: for I apprehend, no man can mark out the limits, or reasonably affirm, “*Hitherto shall an industrious and moral nation increase in the quantity of their manufactures, the numbers of their people, and stock of wealth, and no farther.*”

In regard to the monopoly which the rich country would thus acquire over a poor one, in the sale of its manufactures, the fact must be acknowledged; but the consequences supposed to result from it, may be obviated to such a degree, as to prevent any dangers arising from

from it. True it is, that, *cæteris paribus*, the rich industrious country would always undersell the poor one; and by that means attract the trade of all poorer countries to itself;—but it is equally true, that if either of these poor countries hath any *peculiar* produce of its own, it may prohibit its exportation till it be wrought up into a complete manufacture. It is true likewise, that all of them have it in their power to load the manufactures of the rich country upon entering their territories, with such high duties as shall turn the scale in favour of their own manufactures, or of the manufactures of some other nation, whose progress in trade they have less cause to fear, or envy. Thus it is, in my poor apprehension, that the rich may be prevented from swallowing up the poor; at the same time, and by the same methods, that the poor are stimulated and excited to emulate the rich.

The last objection of Mr Hume's was, That as the poorer country, by having wages and raw materials cheaper, would certainly undersell the rich one in the coarse and more imperfect manufactures, so likewise it would from thence gradually ascend to others, till at last it equalled, and perhaps exceeded the rich country in every thing. But, with deference to Mr Hume, I would beg him to reconsider this argument. The point he builds upon, is the cheapness of wages and of raw materials: But will the wages and raw materials remain still at the same low price, after the country is become so much the richer than it was before? Surely not: Surely they will advance in price, in proportion to the advancement of every thing else. And therefore the grand advantage which he supposes the poor country to have over the rich, in point of cheapness of wages, and of raw materials, will grow less and less every day. In short, though both countries may still go on in their respective improvements, the poor country, according to my apprehension, can never overtake

overtake the rich, unless it be through the fault and mismanagement of the latter.

I was extremely hurt in observing with what arrogance and indecency Mr H. was treated by that superficial writer, the author of the *Estimate*. He is himself below Mr H's notice; and just vengeance has been taken on him by several writers; particularly one, who has wrote the *Vindication of Commerce*, styling himself J. B. M. D. This M. D. is no other than a clothier of Trowbridge, one *Temple*, who has immense erudition in his way,—understands the principles of commerce extremely well, but pushes some of them too far.—In my next, I shall send your Lordship your plan for a *National Militia*, with a few remarks; and am, with great esteem, your Lordship's most obedient and obliged humble servant,

JOSIAH TUCKER.

II. FROM THE SAME.

On Charitable Collections, &c.

MY LORD,

Gloucester, October 18. 1761.

I just have had the honour of receiving a letter of your Lordship's, without a date. Your opinion, that my *marriage-portion* scheme savours of Utopia, is not singular: many of my friends have thought the same. And yet, my Lord; I have succeeded almost up to my expectation in one respect, and much beyond it in another. I did not dare to hope, that the collection would exceed £.100. Many obstacles besides those of novelty lay in the way; such as a lately

lately contested election on the spot, heart-burnings, jealousies, &c. : And yet it rose to £.90 : 12 : 6 ; and several persons are desirous of an annual subscription for continuing the charity. But my chief dependance lies in a codicil of a gentleman near Bristol, who is very rich, childless, and very old. I cannot tell what the sum is : but by his manner of talking concerning the scheme, I should judge that it will be considerable.

I cannot agree with your Lordship, that charitable collections are best promoted in our grave and serious moments. Did mankind act upon the steady principle of true charity, it would be so : But, in fact, charitable collections are best promoted, at least in our part of the Isle, by mixing a little jocundity and dissipation of thought, with the serious design of social benevolence. I have known a good dinner do great things at a country entertainment ; and a merry song of *Beard's* do still more. This is not the first time that I have applied public rejoicings to charitable purposes, with good success. The scheme for making a collection on the Thanksgiving-day in 1759, for clothing the French prisoners, was mine ; as was also the paper that appeared in the *Chronicle*, and other newspapers. And in regard to the marriage-portion scheme, the real and insuperable difficulty was,—what I am persuaded your Lordship has not yet thought of, viz. That in promoting marriages among the poor, we should increase the poors'-rates. Could I have been able to have removed that scare-crow of a poors'-rate, I could easily establish an annual subscription of £. 100 and upwards.

Your Lordship very kindly upbraids me with delaying the publication of my work *. But, my Lord, to what purpose should I publish

* A work, which was to be entitled, " The Elements of Commerce, and Theory of Taxes ;" but which he never completed ; probably for the reasons here assigned.

blish it? War, conquests and colonies, are our present system; and mine is just the opposite. Were I to publish at this juncture, the best treatment I could expect is, to be taken either for a *knave* or a *madman*: and as I know myself not to be the one, I would not willingly be thought the other. So let them pursue their wars, their conquests, and the extension of their colonies, till they have had enough of them: and then, when they have tried the experiment, and found that all has ended in a gay delusion, and been attended with bitter consequences, they may be the more disposed to listen to the cool dictates of reason, and the maxims of common sense. I look upon the nation at present, to be frantic with military glory; and therefore, no more to be argued with, than a person in the raving fit of a high fever. And if my book should at all happen to be read, (which with me is a great question), every news-writer would be pelting me, and saying, that I was the dirty mercenary tool of some great man, who envied *The Great Minister* his glory. Indeed, by his resignation, and accepting a pension, that point is altered for the present: But still, as the people are as mad as ever for carrying on the war, and even extending our conquests and our quarrels, any system built upon maxims opposite and repugnant, would only raise their bile, without any prospect of making converts.

Your Lordship, in your new work *, walks in a safer path: You have no popular measures to oppose; nor French smugglers to detect, bellowing forth, "O liberty! O my country!" while they are supplying their country's enemies with every thing necessary to prolong the war. *This I know to be the fact*, in London, Bristol, Liverpool, and all over North-America. And if you in North-Britain do act upon more generous and honest principles, you are a rare example, which none will follow.

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* *Elements of Criticism.*

I know nothing of your Lordship's subject but from the title. This indeed is prodigiously extensive. But I suppose you will contract your views to some particular end or use. Each sensation was certainly designed to answer some one particular end; the gratification of which, under the guidance of reason and reflection, is human happiness: and the non-gratification, if I may use that term, is present misery; and misapplication is misery in reversion. But I am to learn, and not to teach: I shall therefore be very attentive to the advertisements of new books; and I am, my Lord, with true regard and great esteem, your, &c.

J. TUCKER.

III. FROM THE SAME.

On the same Subjects.

MY LORD,

Bristol, December 10. 1763.

A LETTER from your Lordship, dated November 26, has been travelling in pursuit of me several days. It went first to London, according to your Lordship's direction, and having sought me there in vain, it was sent down to Gloucester, and from Gloucester it was yesterday brought here.

Your Lordship's goodness in calling upon me to explain my motives for abandoning my offspring, and exposing my deserted political children to the wide world, certainly entitles you to know the best reasons that I can give for such a conduct: and I wish that they were not so good as they really are.

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In the *first* place, I have been too forward in my publications already : and those who think the most favourably of my performances, consider them as the flights of a well-meaning visionary ; who, like a second Jacob Henriques, is always obtruding his absurd impracticable schemes upon the public. Others impute my writings to a worse motive ; and very few indeed can be brought to believe that I have a sound and solid judgment, in the affairs about which I have written so much. I remember, that I have often complained to your Lordship, that my fate was like Cassandra's : none would believe me till it was too late.

In the *next* place, I can see nothing in the present disposition of the times which gives any encouragement to a man to hope, that his labours could do good at the present juncture. In former times, the regal scale preponderated ; but now, popular fury bears every thing down before it : and nothing is read or regarded, but as it suits the fashionable frenzy.

I would not have your Lordship think that I utter these things in a gloomy hour. No : I was never more cheerful in all my life ; and never enjoyed a better state both of mind and body, than since I gave up all thoughts of intermeddling any more with public matters. But I speak from conviction, and speak from experience. About twelve years ago, I determined to feel the pulse of the public once more, in regard to the publication of my great work ; and resolved to act according to the fate which would attend that specimen of it. With this view, I selected a chapter which had reference to the disputes then on foot, and which are still the subjects of universal conversation. I worked this chapter into a pamphlet, introduced several striking characters, and gave it all the colourings of popularity I could devise. It was styled, *The Case of going to War for the sake of Trade considered in a new light* ; and printed for
Dodsley.

Dodsley. But neither the singularity of the title, nor the name of the publisher, could recommend it to the least regard. And though I mentioned, that it was a part of a greater work, and that the author neither sought the favour of the minister, nor of the mob, by the publication; yet I might almost as well have printed it among the savage, commerceless nations of America, as in the capital of the most commercial kingdom in the world. I will give orders for one of these pamphlets to be sent down to Bristol; and then I will do myself the honour of transmitting it to your Lordship. The last news I heard of it was, that it had not paid for advertising; though Dodsley made no scruple of naming the author.

The inclosed printed paper is another proof, both of my willingness to serve my country and mankind, and of the discouraging circumstances attending my best endeavours. In the beginning of the summer 1762, I went with a friend to Ireland, merely to see the country. And after having been entertained in various houses, with a profusion of hospitality; the next subject with the Irish patriot, as your Lordship may very well know, is the complaint of the manifold hardships which the English impose upon the Irish nation. This topic of conversation being daily repeated, I thought I should do an acceptable piece of service to the Irish in general, and discover a grateful disposition towards my particular friends, if I pointed out such articles as would greatly benefit Ireland, and yet not excite the narrow, jealous, monopolizing spirit of the English. But how great was my surprise when I found, that my endeavours only exposed me to their sneers, instead of acquiring their thanks; and that they meant nothing else by all their doleful complaints, but what Wilkes and his associates, *mutatis mutandis*, mean now.

I am glad I found your Lordship's MSS. relative to a *militia*. This letter will not allow me to expatiate upon it; neither can I add here

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any thing relating to the *Elements of Criticism*, but that I greatly admire them, and that, on their account, and for every other, I profess myself the learned and patriotic author's most obliged, &c.

JOSIAH TUCKER.

IV. FROM THE SAME.

On Elements of Criticism, &c.

MY LORD,

Bristol, December 26. 1763.

AFTER repeated trials, I am fully convinced, that I have not a capacity for making proper remarks on your Lordship's book. How should a man who understands not a note in music, be able to write a criticism on the finest of Handel's compositions? Now, this is exactly my case. I know not one of the fine arts; and I find moreover, that I have nothing within me which can be called a genius for them, or be made capable of cultivation. Fine strains of music delight me; but I can give no reason why. And so does good poetry, and good painting. But I cannot describe my own feelings upon the occasion; much less can I enter into the rules of the art, or explore its heights or depths.

Your Lordship's book seems to me to be calculated for those happy few in the scale of being, whose souls are of a superior make. *We*, the bulk of mankind, are impelled by a kind of mechanism to love certain beauties; just as animals are prompted to seek their food, or seize their prey: But *you* have added the rules of art to the workings

workings of nature, and have made that a *science*, which in us is only a blind *instinct*.

In this situation, what can I do better than turn informer against myself, and confess my own ignorance? In one word, I know nothing of the matter: And if this be guilt, I dare believe, that your Lordship will pardon it much more readily, than if I had added to it the provoking aggravation of a dull, impertinent criticism.

In my former letter, I mentioned a Tract which I had lately printed, with a view of feeling the pulse of the public in regard to such kinds of subjects. This is the pamphlet which I now take the liberty of inclosing to your Lordship. It is full of errors of the press, having never had the correcting hand of the author. But as these errors are easily distinguishable, I must impute the total disregard shewn to it, to other causes than to the faultiness of the impression. And as I find my prediction in the advertisement so fully verified by the event, I have now nothing more to do, but to keep my former resolution;—which has already greatly contributed both to the ease of my mind, and the health of my body. If I should ever publish this work, it shall be after the manner of your countryman, Bishop Burnet, viz. to give orders for the publication of it after my decease. I am, my Lord, with unfeigned regard, &c.

JOSIAH TUCKER.

P. S. Your Lordship is extremely welcome to any MS. of mine in the hands of Mr Robson, or of any other, if you can find it.—In regard to militias, my notion is this: When people had no money, they paid their soldiers with lands; and those troops were called Militias: they now pay them in money; and they are, therefore, better disciplined, and called Standing Armies. Troops paid with
lands

lands could not be well disciplined, if they were to cultivate those lands.

V. FROM THE SAME.

On his own Writings, and Literary and other Occupations.

MY LORD,

Bristol, February 15. 1764.

As soon as I had the honour of your letter, I wrote to Mr Robson the bookseller in New-Bond Street; and I find from him that the MS. is the same which your Lordship mentioned. By the last post he had orders to send it away for Edinburgh; and I hope it is now upon the road travelling to your Lordship.

I wish I could be of your opinion in regard to the short duration of the present frenzy. But I see it with very different eyes, and expect that each succeeding paroxysm will be more violent than the former. This has certainly been the case for thirty years past: and there is nothing in the present appearance of things, which seems to indicate, that the strength of the disease is abating, but rather the contrary.

But quitting all metaphor, I take the case to be plainly this: Violent opposition hath been of late years, the sure and *safe* road to the great preferments: and this amounts to the same thing, (upon commercial principles), as offering a premium, or giving a bounty for the continuance and increase of opposition. At least, the effect must be thus, till it is publicly known that those premiums or bounties are discontinued:—which is not likely to be soon the case.

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I have often made the same reflections which your Lordship makes on the case of those who write with an attempt to instruct others, and to make them better. Their reward, if they are to have any, is to be as Dr Young expresses it,

“ A late reversion, at their own decease.”

But with regard to my great work, the fact is, that I am not ready for a publication, were I ever so willing : nor can I say when I shall be. For the avocations belonging to my new office of Dean, are very many, and too important to be omitted. I came into an house, which wanted to be almost rebuilt, and into a chapter, where many disorders required to be rectified : and I have a cathedral and cloisters to examine and repair, which, in some respects, are the finest Gothic structures in the world ; and which are now perhaps the best kept. Add to this, that though I do not understand music, yet, *fungendo vice cotis*, as Horace says, I have, for the number of voices, the best choir in the kingdom, out of London. After this I need not mention family-concerns, which are very perplexing : for though I have no children of my own, I have no less than eight of an only sister, all thrown upon me, whom I must breed up to get their living in some shape or other.

I am afraid I have tired your Lordship with this long apology. But there are two resolutions which I cannot depart from. The first is, That as charity begins at home, I must give up as much time as is necessary for the service of my own family : And the second, That I will not put it in the power of any one to say, that I neglected the proper business of my function and station, upon any pretences of serving the public : I have always kept clear, I thank
God,

God, of this imputation, even my adversaries being judges : and I trust, I ever shall *.

If I shall be able to complete my work, consistently with these points, I then shall have no objection against publishing : Provided that your Lordship, upon perusal of the MS., (which favour I shall entreat you to grant me), shall judge it to be deserving of the public view. I am, my Lord, with the highest regard, &c.

J. TUCKER.

P. S. When your Lordship shall see Mr D. Hume, be pleased to give my compliments to him. I think I may gather from several passages in the two volumes of History last published, that I have had the honour of making him a convert, in regard to the notion, *That cheap countries do not produce cheap manufactures.* The more he reflects on that matter, the more he will be convinced, that a rich industrious

* That the worthy Dean did not deserve this harsh imputation, may be readily allowed ; as no clergyman, it is believed, ever entertained a more proper sense of the duties of his sacred function, or more faithfully discharged them ; but it is equally certain, that he did not escape that censure which he thus warmly deprecates. It was on him that Bishop Warburton threw out the sarcastic witticism, " That he " made religion his trade, and trade his religion ;" a reflection to which the Dean thus replies : " It is true, that commerce and its connexions have been favourite objects of my attention ; and where is the crime ? As for religion, I have attended " carefully to the duties of my parish : nor have I neglected my cathedral. The " world knows something of me as a writer on religious subjects ; and I will add, " which the world does not know, that I have written near three hundred sermons, " and preached them all, again and again. My heart is at ease on that score ; and " my conscience, thank God ! does not accuse me." And his character in this respect does not rest on his own testimony : The venerable Bishop Newton gives him ample praise " as an excellent parish-priest, and most exemplary in the performance " of his duty."—*Bishop Newton's Life*, p. 60.

industrious country can never be overtaken, much less outdone by a poor one; equal industry operating in both. Modern Scotland is a rich country, compared with Scotland a hundred years ago: and yet I will be answerable for it, that as good linen may now be bought for 3 s. *per* yard, as then would have cost 4 s., if not more.

In Mr Hume's history of the Anglo-Saxons, he follows the stream of historians in asserting, that they exterminated all the natives; and consequently had no slaves or villains. But I could never find any proofs of this: and the appearance of things during the Hephtharchy, strongly indicates the contrary: the feudal system being as evidently the system among them, as among all the other northern nations. And it is hard to say what could induce them to be so very singular in this respect. I am myself a Welshman: and we have no tradition in our country of any such measure: on the contrary, we suppose, that all the slaves remained slaves to their new masters; and the gentlemen fled into Wales: *Ergo*, the Welsh are all gentlemen. Moreover, the Danes and Swedes never mention this circumstance, when they mention the expedition and victories of the Anglo-Saxons, their ancestors. And if Mr Hume will reflect on the price settled for killing a Welshman in Cambridgeshire, taken out of *Hickes*, he will conclude, that that Welshman must have been a slave.

VI. FROM THE SAME.

On some of Mr Locke's Political Notions.—Errors in the Conduct of Britain to the American Colonies.

MY GOOD LORD,

Gloucester, June 16. 1782.

YOUR Lordship's favour of the 16th of April is now before me. It was brought by my worthy friend and neighbour in Bristol, Dr Drummond; and a few days ago I received it at Cheltenham, where I was drinking the waters for my health.——Thus far I proceed with pleasure, because I see the way plain and smooth before me. As to what is to follow, I own I have my fears; because I know I have been guilty; and therefore, I throw myself on the mercy of the Court, as my safest refuge. The little I have to say in my own defence is this, That, when at Taymouth, I altered my route, on purpose to have the power of waiting on Lord Kames at his own house of Blair-Drummond; and therefore, instead of returning to Perth, and from thence through the Carse of Gowrie to St Andrew's, (as I first proposed), I crossed the mountain to go to Crieff and Dumblain. When at Dumblain, I was informed at the inn, that your Lordship had set out that very morning at four o'clock to go your circuit. I then gave up the cause for lost; and the æra of my wrong conduct, (I will add, of my guilt and ingratitude), commenced from that moment: for I ought immediately to have acknowledged

knowned the sorrow which I really felt at that disappointment.

With respect to Mr Locke, could I have considered his assertion, "That no man (no moral individual of either sex) ought to be subject to any government, or to any mode of taxation, which he himself had not, by some explicit and personal engagement, chosen for that purpose," only as a slip of the pen, I should have esteemed myself highly to blame for having animadverted so severely upon so respectable a writer. But it was no accidental slip,—it was his grand *postulatum* throughout; without which, there is nothing in his book which differs from any other *liberal treatise* on a free government. And it is in conformity to the same principle, he expressly says in another place, That no man is bound, in a political sense, by the act and deed of his father, to submit to any laws, or any government, (good or bad), till such time as he has made his own option. These are positions big with mischief, if reduced to practice: and the salvo of yielding to a majority, (which is a poor salvo at best), will not atone for the evils done by the foregoing positions. Nay, indeed if the right of choosing his own governors, and of consenting to the mode and quantum of the tax to be levied upon him, be an *unalienable right*, no majority of voters whatever, ought to deprive a man of the exercise of such a right. To suppose *that* right to be an unalienable right belonging to human nature, and inseparable from each individual; and yet to allow, that a majority of only *one* vote is sufficient to deprive millions of the exercise of it, is such a new species of reasoning, as is only to be found in modern times, and among modern patriots.

I think, my Lord, you are under some mistake relative to the case of the Americans, and their quarrel with the mother country. Had they declared at once, That though they were formerly in the situa-

tion of infants, nursed and supported by an indulgent parent, they are now grown up to a state of maturity, and therefore no longer to be treated as children or minors, but to judge and act for themselves ; and that, as they no longer chose to submit to our burdens and restrictions, *they do not expect, and have no title to our benefits and protection* :—Had they said these things, my Lord, or even had their advocates at home so much as insinuated the same, their plea would have appeared in a very different light in the eyes of all reasonable and impartial men. But, my Lord, they, and their friends, even to this hour, do insist upon it, that they, (to carry on the same allusion), have a right to every part of the paternal estate which is *worth having*, without contributing a farthing towards taxes and repairs, and other incidental charges attending the same. These are the children, or colonists, or fellow-subjects, or allies, or whatever else you please, in whose quarrel we have spent so many millions, and spilt such torrents of blood ! In short, and to sum up all at once, I look upon it to have been a very *imprudent act*, to have settled any distant colonies at all, whilst there remained an inch of land in Great Britain capable of further cultivation :—Afterwards, to have been very *foolish and absurd* to have engaged in their disputes either with the French or Spaniards, and to have espoused their quarrels :—and, lastly, to have been *the height of madness* to have endeavoured to conquer them after they had broken out in open rebellion. They were always, from first to last, a heavy weight upon us ; a weight which we ourselves ought to have thrown off, if they had not done it for us. When I first broached this doctrine, almost twenty years ago, I stood alone ; and had the honour to be treated by the late Ministry as a *fool*, and by the present, then in opposition, as a *knave*. But the time is come that both sides think very differently of my well-meant endeavours.

Having

Having only two franks at present for your Lordship, and not having the little Treatise on *Wool* now at hand, I beg leave to send you a new (the third) edition of my *Cui Bono*, with a long preface; and shall transmit the other tracts with all convenient speed. Be pleased to accept of my repeated thanks for your Lordship's indulgence and promise of pardon (for such I understand it) on my repentance: And believe me to be, with the sincerest esteem and regard, your Lordship's most obliged, &c.

JOSIAH TUCKER.

VII. FROM THE SAME.

Absurd inferences of Political Writers, drawn from the Saxon Government.

MY GOOD LORD,

Gloucester, June 24. 1782.

I am happy to transmit to your Lordship the remaining part of my *Cui Bono*. Together with this, I likewise send a little postscript to a Sermon which was preached by a member of our church on the 29th of May.

In one part of my answer to Mr Locke, I had asserted from the authorities of Lyttelton and Sir Walter Raleigh, that soccage *anciently* was rather a *base* than a noble tenure; and that though it afterwards came into good repute, yet that in the times of the Saxons, it was not considered as entitling the socman to the rank of being a member either of the greater or lesser *Gemot*. The matter
is

is in itself of no consequence : nor granting that I am mistaken in this particular, is my argument against Mr Locke at all affected by it. But great triumphs have been raised on this head, for want of something more substantial and more to the purpose. If your Lordship has ever thought it worth your while to make this point a particular subject of inquiry, I should be glad to know whether I am right or wrong. Great and glorious things are now said of the nature and constitution of the Saxon government ; as if it had been a model of the most perfect freedom. I know no other grounds for these assertions, than the distance of the time and the unimportance of the subjects, which render a confutation unnecessary as well as difficult. A government expressly founded on conquest and slavery, (and where slaves were the objects, and end and aim of all their endeavours, and the *staple-trade* of the times), would not, as one would have thought, have been held up as a pattern for a civilized nation to copy after. But what will not modern politics arrive at?

I was going on in this way : but the influenza,—not the political, but the physical, has ordered me to stop. I conclude therefore with my most respectful thanks for your great condescension to your Lordship's most obliged, &c.

JOSIAH TUCKER.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.—No. II.

LETTERS *from Lord KAMES's Correspondence, on certain subjects of Physiology and Natural History.*

- I. LETTER *to Lord KAMES from the Reverend Dr JOHN WALKER, Minister of Moffat, afterwards Regius Professor of Natural History in the University of Edinburgh.*

On the Analogy between Man and the inferior Animals; and that between Animals and Vegetables.

MY LORD,

Moffat, February 18. 1773.

YOUR Lordship's letter, which would at any time have been most acceptable, was peculiarly so in my present situation; blocked up with snow, and not within eighteen miles of a person I can converse with. Nothing is pleasanter at such a time than new views upon an old subject. I have taken up my pen, and may begin, but I know not when, or where I shall end. When engaged upon a subject, I know with what avidity I have sometimes attended to the most crude discussions of others; and have seen even light issue from

from very muddy understandings, like lightning, from a dark cloud. This at present makes me hope for a hearing.

The analogy between man and the inferior animals, and between them and vegetables, is one of the most obvious of all human speculations;—a field of inquiry which has always been full of labourers, and never more cultivated than at present, or to such good purpose. Yet, to raise Monkeys to Men; to degrade Men to Monkeys; to attempt to annihilate or even to extenuate the line of partition between them, is a reigning taste in philosophy, which gives me great disgust. Linnæus has long ranked us in the same order of animals with the Bat; and though in this article I perhaps justify his method, as much as any individual of my species, yet I could never look at it without umbrage. He still placed Man however in a genus by himself at the head of the system. He stickled a little indeed for combining us with the Ouran-outang; but finding that the creature had a *membrana nictitans*, he allowed him to remain with his companions. This was well enough. But his behaviour in his last book is truly provoking. He has there given us a brother-german,—a *Homo Lar*, forsooth!—some little scoundrel of a monkey, picked up in the woods of Macassar, whose very name I have in such detestation, that I am persuaded I am not a drop's blood to him.

Let your Lordship pursue the analogy between Plants and Mankind, as far as you will, it is not likely I shall be as much offended, as with my friend Linnæus. I have been from the cradle fond of vegetative life; and though I like my species, and the rank I hold in the creation, I declare I would sooner claim kindred to an oak or an apple-tree than to an ape.

Your Lordship well knows what copious disquisitions have been made upon the scale of being. It is called a *chain*, and it has been traced

traced in most of its parts from matter to mind. Could we take hold of the one end of this chain as we can do of the other, we might know by one shake whether or no it is entire, as we suppose. Many links remain still undiscovered, but we have reason to think that there are none wanting.

The analogy between plants and animals, as members of this scale, has been chiefly pursued in the track of organization. Your Lordship, by what I can perceive, intends a different route, and I think indeed a pleasanter path, that of sensibility. Though by different ways, they lead to the same object, and I believe are always parallel. Organization and sensibility constantly rise and fall together. They go hand in hand in nature, and should do so in philosophy.

With regard to the similarity between plants and animals, in the article of self-motion, my views are as follow; nor do they differ materially from the strictures in your Lordship's letter.

But before we go to the plants. From whence do the self-motions of animals proceed?

It appears, that all animal motions arise either from irritation or volition. The first is a mechanical cause, but the other is of a different nature.

The motions from volition are obvious. By the motions from irritation, I mean not only the accidental involuntary motions of nerves and muscles, but the involuntary vital motions: those of the intestines, of the lungs, of the heart, of the arteries; and in fine, all motions which are not effected by an act of the will.

After full recollection, I think all the motions of plants flow from irritation. I know of none from volition. They are endowed with self-motion unquestionably, but it always proceeds from this single

source : Whereas, animals are likewise endowed with a self-motion that is voluntary.

The motions of instinct in animals are motions likewise of volition. But as there are no motions of volition in vegetables, I would argue, that they are void of instinct. At least, the apparently instinctive motion of vegetables, must, in this article, be essentially different from the instinct of animals, however much they may resemble it; and it would be proper indeed, that two things so different should be known by different names; such as Voluntary and Involuntary Instinct. The first, peculiar to animals; the latter, the only instinct of vegetables. Instinct, both in the animal and vegetable world, is divisible into many subordinate degrees, and each should have its place upon the scale of being: but, from this distinction does there not result a capital division of instinct in general, subsisting as a common principle in the two kingdoms of nature?

Instinct in animals is confined to two objects: The safety of the individual, and the preservation of the species. The same two objects are pursued by plants, and by means indeed similar, but not quite the same. Most of the attempts made by plants to gain these two ends, can be accounted for, I think, mechanically: but the attempts of animals cannot. A tree receding from the perpendicular, till it finds an open passage upward, I consider as a motion quite mechanical. But the flight of a woodcock, at his season, from Cape Breton to Scotland, can be accounted for by no mechanism. These things may serve, I imagine, to establish an essential difference between the instinct of plants and animals, if in both it must have the same name.

The motions of plants, like those of animals, answer determinate purposes: They are the means to an end.

But

But that end the plant pursues, by an impulse surely void of intelligence. It may indeed resemble the instinct of animals, but it is far inferior. At the utmost, I suspect it to be little above mechanical, if it is above it at all; and I am sure, that in most cases it can be so accounted for.

We can trace the causes of the motions of plants and animals mechanically a certain length, and then indeed we are brought to a stop. When I ascribe these motions, therefore, to irritation, I mean it only as their proximate cause. Beyond this there no doubt lies a cause of another nature. But of this I know nothing. Here I own my philosophy fails me.

The most striking property in common to animals and vegetables, is their mode of generation; a modern discovery, by which we are assured, that plants are propagated by male and female, as well as animals; and that every organized body proceeds from a fecundated egg or seed. But further than this the subject of generation has been in vain pursued; and the *punctum saliens vitæ*, the ultimate origin of life and of vital motion, both in plants and animals, is all darkness still.

Sensation in animals is the effect of irritation. The same effect we cannot deny to vegetables. But the sensation of a plant is so inferior in degree, and of such a different nature, that it would seem, like the vegetable instinct, to require a different denomination. Pleasure and pain, for example, arise in animals upon sensation; but where or how shall we discover these in vegetables?

Sensibility, though diffused over the whole animal, has its headquarters in the brain. From this focus the rays of sensibility diverge to every fibre and every pore. But we can find no such *sensorium* in plants. The sentient principle, if it may be called so, is *totum in toto, et totum in qualibet parte*.

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It appears to me, that the sensibility of the nerves in the human body, if it does not entirely depend, is at least generally in proportion to the rarity or density of the medium in which they are lodged. The firmer the fibre, the less sensibility ; and *vice versâ*.

Hence the greater sensibility of mankind in a warm than in a cold climate ; greater in an effeminate than a rude age ; greater in the female than the male sex ; greater in a tender lady than in a robust dairy-maid ; and greater in the sedentary student than in the active ploughman. The medium in the one being to that in the other, as pulp to bend-leather.

The same thing we find in the different parts of the same body. Let the hands or feet be hardened, and their sensibility is immediately diminished. The sensibility of the nerves in the firmer muscles, is nothing to what it is in the finer membranes. The sensibility is next to nothing in the firm and callous medium of the ligaments ; and yet, let the firmest of these ligaments be rarified by inflammation, and it becomes sensible. The sensibility of the nerves is plainly nothing in the bones ; and yet there, I make no doubt, they likewise exist, though totally insensible, from the great compactness of the medium in which they are lodged.

All that I find in vegetables analogous to this, is, that in young plants, and in the young and tender parts, there is most sensibility ; and that, by becoming firmer in substance, they become more insensible : Which is saying little more, than that a sheet of cambric paper is more susceptible of every breath than a sheet of lead : For though it is common to speak and write about the nerves of plants, it is an impropriety. They have no organs so similar to animal nerves as to authorise the name. They have indeed bundled fibres ; but these correspond to the muscular fibres, not to the nerves of animals.

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There is one article of the analogy between animals and vegetables that has scarce ever been touched upon,—the article of habit; a source of much curious speculation, and of more useful discoveries than any other part of the subject. In the view I have of it, it promises much for the advancement of agriculture, of gardening, of the management of cattle and other animals, and even of the management of man; as much may be learnt from it in preventing and curing diseases. We have here no occasion to force an analogy; for in this article plants and animals are quite the same. It is the consequence of their being organized bodies; and hence every useful discovery in the one, can be applied and rendered useful in the other. It is indeed one great disadvantage of the subject, that it hinges every where upon minutiae; I may say minutiunculæ, which require a microscopic observer: Upon small observations and slight circumstances, seemingly trivial apart, but collectively of importance.

To instance, in the point of naturalization to climate and country:

Rice is a native plant of the torrid zone, but has been long cultivated without the tropic; in South Carolina, the Canaries, and northern parts of Africa. About 100 years ago it was first sown in Italy, and has ever since been creeping gradually northwards in Europe. They have now fruitful fields of rice upon the Weser, in the north of Germany. But they must use German seed: That of Carolina, and even of Italy, will not ripen: being destitute of that power to withstand cold which the other has gradually acquired by habit, or a tract of years.

The yew tree is a native of Sweden, and braves all the rigour of the climate; but yews brought from France to ornament the Swedish gardens, were found unable to withstand it.

The

The passion-tree, a native of the Brazils, is there an ever-green. I remember it at Edinburgh, when a boy, a regular perdifol. But I have been witness to its becoming gradually so inured to the climate, that in a good exposure it now retains its foliage the whole winter.

The same effect of habit we find in animals.

The Canary bird brought to London directly from these islands, cannot be kept alive without a great deal of artificial heat. But after many successive generations in Germany and in this country, it is found to stand the open air almost equally with our own linnets. And the same thing is beginning to appear in the golden and China pheasant.

The horse and sheep, both natives of the hottest parts of the earth, were they brought from thence to winter on the mountains of Ross-shire, would undoubtedly perish; and yet both animals, by travelling gradually northwards in the course of ages, live on these mountains in health and vigour.

The power of habit, however, in naturalization, appears not so conspicuous in our own species as among the inferior animals, and in plants. And the reason appears to be this. Every plant and every animal is evidently designed by Nature to occupy some particular climate or track of the globe; but it is equally evident, that man is destined to possess the whole. And yet though mankind live both under the equator, and within the polar circle, we may safely suppose, that the natives of Sumatra, transplanted at once to Greenland, would certainly not be able to subsist.

I shall mention another instance of the force of habit in plants and animals; that is, the alteration it produces in their external characters by climate and culture.

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The most remarkable instances of this kind in vegetable life are to be found in the kitchen-garden.

There, we find cabbage, cauliflour, savoy, kale, brocoli, and turnip-rooted cabbage. But would any person who had not made plants his peculiar study, ever imagine that these were the same species? It is impossible I think he should; their aspect is so different: and yet nothing is more certain, than that they are only varieties produced by the cultivation of the *brassica oleracea*, a plant which grows wild on the sea-shores of Europe, and which, in its external appearance, is as different from any of those above mentioned, as any two of them are from one another. These alterations, produced in the phasis of the plant by various cultivation in different countries, are now so rivetted by habit, that they appear upon sowing the seeds of each variety. The alterations are retained by habit, and descend upon the offspring, even when the causes which occasioned them are gone. These varieties, however, like the varieties of every other plant, are liable without care to degenerate into one another. But by the art of gardening they are preserved distinct, each having its peculiar value, as a garden production.

In animal life, the most remarkable instances of this kind are to be found among domestic animals.

The dog is evidently designed by Nature to be man's companion, and has accordingly attended him to every country and climate. In consequence of this, he has suffered more alteration in his external habit than any other animal. Many distinct species of animals are more similar to one another in their appearance than the English bull-dog is to the Italian greyhound. Yet these and all the other sorts of dogs are but the varieties of one species. By mixing, they are capable of degenerating into one another; yet will always produce perfect animals of their species. But by mixing with any
other

other species of animal, they can afford but an imperfect production, a mule.

The same alteration in external characters is at first produced by climate and manner of life, and afterwards entailed by habit upon our own species.

Hence arise varieties in the human race similar to those we find in other animals and in plants. Many considerable writers have spoken of different species of mankind. I have bestowed much attention all my life upon the specific characters of the various tribes of animals, yet have never seen nor have ever read but of one species of man. The varieties of the human species are indeed numerous and remarkable : but they are neither so remarkable nor so numerous as those of the dog, and are only such as may be both produced and destroyed by habit.

I find but few tracts of any consequence among the ancients relative to the rise and progress of those varieties which have taken place in our species. One however I cannot but mention, as it is one of the most valuable upon the subject. It is related by Hippocrates in his book, *De Aëre, Aquis, et Locis*, and I think shews as fine observation and as great sagacity in the knowledge of animal nature as any passage in his writings.

The Macrocephali, a nation of Cappadocia, near the city of Cerasus, were so called by the Greeks on account of the extraordinary length of their heads ; and that father of physic gives us the following satisfactory history of this singular appearance.

In that nation, says he, the persons who have the greatest length of head are accounted the most honourable. Hence it became a practice to bandage the heads of their new-born infants in such a manner as to hinder their growing round, and to force them out in length. This practice, says he, first gave rise to that form of head
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for which they are so remarkable ; but in process of time it became so natural to the race, that there was no further occasion for continuing the practice.

I know not of any two varieties in the human race more widely different than the fair-haired European and the Angola Negro. But I am certain that, upon the principle of Hippocrates, I can account for all the peculiarities in the aspect of the African. That the difference in his hair proceeds from the climate; his splay-feet from the soil; and his colour, his flat face and features, and prominent belly, from his manner of life.

In the scale of Nature, there are chasms which late discoveries have indeed rendered less discernible, but still they are not completely filled up. These lie between unorganized and organized matter; between vegetable and animal life, and between the most perfect brute-animal and man.

Organization was not so well understood formerly as at present. I was taught from a Professor's Chair when I was fourteen, that there was an organization in the fossil kingdom; but I have long found that there is not. It is now universally admitted, that there is no seminal principle in fossils, no containing vessels nor contained fluids, no organization, no species, but possible combinations, innumerable as the sands of the sea. All this we are warranted to conclude from undoubted facts, but further than this we are not permitted to go. Some curious observations remain still, I think, to be made with fine microscopes upon animal and vegetable organization in their lowest stages, and upon those fossils which approach nearest to organized bodies.

Forty years ago we were little acquainted with the links which unite vegetable and animal life. But by the discoveries of Peyssonel, Trembly, and their followers, we now see where and how they

run into one another, or at least that they are divided by such a nice barrier, that it is no sooner touched than passed. Formerly a plant and an animal appeared as beings essentially different, and widely distant from one another; but the tribe of *Zoophyta* have now extenuated the distinction.

Philosophers to this day are fighting strenuously, whether these bodies should be considered as animals or vegetables. The truth, I think, is, that they are neither, but an amazing mixture of animal and vegetable nature; which lays the most natural, and the firmest foundation I know of for an analogy between the two kingdoms.

I am now afraid I rather tire than entertain your Lordship; but I own these speculations are so pleasant to myself, that if I did not reflect, I might be led on to a letter which would reach to Edinburgh: I mean not by the post, but by actual extension: I would otherwise have added here some further observations on that *hiatus* in the scale of being which subsists between the most perfect animal and man; and likewise on that illimitable and unfathomable gulf which is interposed between the most perfect creature and the Creator.

I shall now subjoin, as your Lordship desires, a list of the apparently instinctive motions of plants, confining myself to such as are most remarkable, most obvious, and most unquestionable.

1. The leaves of trees and herbs have an upper and under surface; the one constantly turned to the heavens, the other to the earth. If a branch of a tree is bended, and so fixed, that this order of its leaves is inverted, and the under side exposed to the heavens, by a wreathing motion of their footstalks, they will all in a little time recover their former and natural direction. This, I am satisfied from repeated observations and experiments, is owing to an attraction between the upper surface of leaves and light, though it is ascribed by others

others to different causes. If a plant in a flower-pot is placed in a window, in a few days the upper surface of all its leaves will be directed to the window. Let it be so turned about, that the under side of the leaves point to the window, in a few days they will all resume their former position.

2. Many plants upon the sun's recess alter the position of their leaves, which maintain a different form during the night from what they observe during the day. This is termed the *Somnus Plantarum*. Every body since Pliny's time has observed it in a field of clover.

3. Every seed when it germinates, shoots forth a plumula and a radicle: The first, the embryo of the stem, which always ascends; the other, of the root, which always descends. It is amazing how hard these little tender bodies will struggle against the most powerful obstacles which may offer to obstruct or alter these two directions.

4. The seeds of all plants, when sown in the earth, will rise when within a certain depth, but will not rise if placed beyond it. I know, for example, that barley will rise, though sown to the depth of ten inches, but will not rise if placed twelve inches deep.

5. The claspers of briony have both a progressive and retrograde motion. They shoot forwards in a spiral, to lay hold of whatever comes in their way for their support; but if they meet with nothing, after completing a spiral of about three circles, they alter their plan, and shoot away in another direction; that if they miss one way, they may hit the other.

6. Among the ruins of the old monastery of New Abbey, in Galloway, there is a plane-tree, about twenty feet high, which grows on the top of a wall built with stone and lime. Being straitened for nourishment in this situation, many years ago it shot forth roots into the open air. These did neither die nor draw back, but descended by the side of the wall, which is ten feet high. It was se-

veral years before they reached the ground, during which time they conveyed no nutriment to the tree, but were supported by it. At length they dipped into the earth, and have since enabled the tree to grow with vigour. Between the top of the wall and the surface of the earth, they have never thrown out either branches or leaves, but have coalesced into a sort of trunk ten feet high, and pretty thick; which is very singular, in being now terminated by roots, both at top and bottom.

7. The leaves of many plants, especially of the mallow tribe, move daily with the sun, following him with the upper surface of their leaves, from east, by south, to west.

8. The petals of many flowers expand in the sun, but contract at night, or on the approach of darkness or rain.

This is evidently to protect the tender parts of the fructification from injury.

9. But when once the seeds are fecundated, though the petals still subsist, they no longer contract.

This is one of the finest instances I know of these instinctive motions, and one of the strongest evidences of the sexes of plants.

10. Every honeysuckle twig shoots straight forward, till it becomes too long to support its weight. It then immediately curls into a spiral: for the spiral figure gives it further strength. If alone, or if it meet with a dead branch, it screws always from the right to the left; but if it meets with another twig, they coalesce for mutual support, and the one screws to the right, and the other to the left.

11. Dodart first observed that trees pushed their branches in a direction parallel to the surface of the earth. If a tree stands on a steep, it pushes both towards the hill, and towards the declivity; but on both sides it still preserves its branches parallel to the surface. As there is an attraction between the upper surface of leaves and
light,

light, I am also persuaded, though not equally certain of it from experiment, that there is an attraction of the same nature between the under surface of leaves and the surface of the earth. This I consider as the cause of the phenomenon.

I had long observed, that the most fruitful orchards, and the most fertile trees, are those planted on a declivity, and the steeper it is, though not quite a precipice, the more fertile they prove. But I was never satisfied as to the cause of it, till I called to mind the above observation of Dodart; which occurred to me when I was in the town of Jedburgh. There is more fruit about that place, and more fruit-bearing wood upon the trees, than I have seen in any other part of Scotland: But its orchards and fruit-gardens are mostly situated in very steep places.

It is well known that the spreading of trees always renders them fruitful. On a plain, however, they incline to shoot upwards; and therefore art is called in by skilful gardeners, and applied in various ways to check their perpendicular, and to promote their lateral growth. But this point, which can only be gained upon a plain by art, is obtained upon a declivity by Nature. There a tree loses its tendency to shoot upwards, and in order to preserve its branches parallel with the surface, is constrained to put them in a lateral direction.

Hence an important rule in the choice of orchards and fruit gardens.—I ever am, with the most sincere respect, my Lord, &c.

JOHN WALKER.

II.

II. *Lord KAMES to Sir JAMES NASMITH of New Posso, Baronet.*

On the Analogy between Animals and Vegetables.

DEAR SIR,

Blair-Drummond, September 27. 1773.

THE rich, by Christian duty, are bound to supply the wants of the poor. My wants are urgent; your treasures are great; and I trust I shall find your charity proportionally liberal. It is the quality, too, of that wealth of yours I chiefly covet, that it may be freely imparted without impoverishing the giver. But to come to the point without further preface. I have been thinking a good deal of late, now that I have some leisure for amusement, on a comparison between animals and vegetables, with respect to the curious principle of *instinct*. You, of all mankind, are the best fitted to give me clear ideas upon the subject; and, therefore, without scruple, I will throw out my crude notions, to prompt you to an opening of your stores for my benefit.

Many are the actions of brute animals, and even of the human race, that are directed by blind instinct, without the intervention of reason or reflection; and I think actions somewhat similar may be discovered in vegetables. The growth of plants, their production and decay, come not under my consideration; but certain motions varying from the ordinary course of Nature, like voluntary actions in animals. All roots, when, in their direct progress, they meet with a ditch, and are laid open to the air, immediately dip and hide themselves

themselves in the earth, as if they knew what they were about. A tree oppressed by another hanging over it, recedes from the perpendicular, till it finds an open passage upward. A tree growing under a dark cover, with a single hole to let in the light and air, always pushes to get out at that hole. A water-lily grows from the bottom of the water to the top, and stops there, whether the water be shallow or deep, spreading its leaves on the surface. The sensitive plant closes its leaves on the slightest touch. Here is self-motion, similar to that of a snail, which withdraws itself within its shell on an appearance of danger. Is not the nettle a sensitive plant of a different kind? It stings when gently touched; but is inoffensive when squeezed hard in the hand. I mention these things merely to show what I am pointing at; for these facts must be quite familiar to you, with many more that I am ignorant of.

The efficient cause of such phenomena, as well as of many of the operations and works of Nature, is far beyond the reach of human intellect: but the final causes, in many instances, do not seem to me beyond our reach; and I wish to point them clearly out, in such and similar instances as I have mentioned.

But what I chiefly desire to make out, is a comparison between animals and vegetables, with respect to the before-mentioned particulars, and others of the same nature. The moment a duck is hatched, it waddles into the water; and this not by imitation or experience; for it happens to duck-chicks hatched by a hen, who is alarmed for the safety of her supposed progeny. By what means, then, does this happen? By means of an internal impulse, termed Instinct. What reason is there, then, for not applying the same term to that impulse which actuates vegetables in similar actions, such as those already mentioned? When a sensitive plant withdraws itself from the hand, and hastily closes its leaves, as if feeling the injury

injury done it, is it not by an internal principle that it does so, a principle having all the qualities of instinct?—If so, here is a point of view, in which animals and vegetables are brought very near together. Such speculations carefully pursued, may tend much to enrich philosophy.

But, my good friend, besides wishing for knowledge on a subject on which you are very capable to furnish it, I have a plot in this letter. Our neighbour, Callendar of Craigforth, has more than once given us the flattering hope of seeing you here. My spouse is an eminent florist, and not a despicable botanist. Now, she vows to treat you as Mahomet did the Mountain. If you will not come to her, she is resolved to go to you: and what a shame would that be to a man of spirit? You must give us a meeting on more gallant and knightly terms. I ever am, yours, &c.

HENRY HOME.

III. *Sir JAMES NASMITH to Lord KAMES.*

On the same Subject.

MY LORD,

New Posso, November 8. 1773.

I had made a little excursion for some weeks; and upon my return here, found your Lordship's letter upon my table. I wish it were in my power to give you any light on the curious comparison you suggest between animals and vegetables, with respect to the principle of instinct. I cannot well say how far they may agree in
this

this particular, as I confess I have no clear idea of this same thing called *Instinct*. But if, as your Lordship says, the duckling runs to the water the moment it is hatched, from an internal impulse called Instinct, I will venture to say, that we see vegetables endowed with the same internal impulse, or something very similar to it. The red whortle-berry was planted here by way of edging to a border, under a fruit-wall: in two or three years, it overran all the adjoining deep-laid gravel-walk, and seemed to fly from the rich border, where never a single runner appeared. This low ever-green plant grows naturally on the tops of our highest hills, amongst stones and gravel; and if the Court of Aldermen had its sagacity, turtle and venison would not be so fatal to them. Is not this instance, with many others that might be given of the election which plants make, in receding from what is hurtful, and flying to what is agreeable to their natures, very analogous to the conduct of the duckling? But, my Lord, there are now growing in Mr Lockhart's paddock at Lee, a parcel of willow-trees that have been repeatedly cut over, at about eight or ten feet from the ground: their trunks are about fifteen inches diameter; generally open on one side, and so much decayed, that hardly any thing remains but the bark, and a little of what is called the blea: yet these trees are furnished with fine shoots at top, placed round so much of their edges as remain; and these shoots finding themselves starved for want of nourishment from the mother plant, have put out roots in great number from where they are connected with the tree: these roots have run down, some on the outside, and some on the hollow inside, till they have reached and penetrated the ground; and, what is very remarkable, have made no attempt to put out lateral shoots or fibres, as knowing them to be of no use, till they arrived at the place of their destination. They are generally about the size of a walking cane; and in their

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way

way down, have clung so close to the old stem, as to have impressed a groove in which they lie a little sunk; and into which, if you draw them from the tree, they spring back with great elasticity. This, I dare say, your Lordship will consider as a very strong effort in Nature: and yet you may see the like in a tree that is not so vivacious as the willow. It is at the New Abbey in Galloway; where a plane-tree that has grown on the top of a wall about eight feet high, finding a lack of provision there, has put out roots, sent them down the face of the wall, and struck into the ground, from whence it now draws its principal nourishment.

But neither animals nor vegetables can be supported "by bread alone;" so benign and necessary a thing is light to both their natures. Were you to confine an animal in a dark place for some considerable time, and afterwards admit a ray of light, I imagine it would run towards it. Be that as it may, I am sure a vegetable would do so; and am satisfied this is not owing, as is commonly alleged, to their drying sooner, and consequently bending to the side the light comes from. Plants never incline towards the flues placed in the back part of a stove. And pray, my Lord, may not this longing after light, account for the stems of all seedling plants taking the shortest way to get at it, while their roots strike into the ground. The blind puppy tries every thing that touches his lips, and when he finds the teat, never fails to fix to it. Animals and vegetables have their organs, and while left to Nature, will ever make the proper use of them.

It is beautiful to observe how the scandent plants stretch out to lay hold of any thing that can support them. Thrust a stick into the ground, within a moderate distance of any of these, and, every thing else equal, it will push towards the stick, and on this it will raise itself to its appointed height.

That

That the sensitive plant is possessed of self-motion, and at least of as much feeling as the snail, I have no doubt: But, my Lord, that all plants are sensitive, the different appearances they put on at different times, evidently shew. They are the best *hygrometers* in the world. They open and close their flowers and leaves at different hours of the day, some before, and some after sun-set; some to receive, some to avoid rain: some follow the sun, some turn away from it. Put the leaves of any plant out of their natural situation, by nailing a branch to a wall, or by any other means, they will all soon redress themselves; and this not by a sudden jerk, as a bent twig: you must wait some days before all is put to rights again. We see what pains fowl take to adjust and dress their feathers, as other animals do their furs; surely finding something disagreeable when they are out of order.

Thus, we perceive what vegetables can do to serve themselves: but their powers go further; even to the propagation and preservation of the species; and in this the water plants are very remarkable. The *farina fœcundans* could not have its effect under water; therefore, these put up their flower-stems, be the water deep or shallow, till they emerge and get into the open air: then, and not till then, they flower. Do we not see something akin to this in some animals, who leave their own elements on the same occasion? The crocodile, &c. deposit their eggs on the shore: the salmon leave the sea, run up every fresh river as far as we have water to carry them; and we see their errand. Your Lordship asks, Is not the nettle a sensitive plant of a different kind: it stings, you say, when gently touched, but is inoffensive when squeezed hard. Are you certain that this is a fact: or may it not be a deception? The palms of the hand are callous, and not so easily wounded as other parts. I think I have been stung, even with a glove on my hand; though I grasped the

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nettle

nettle hard, in order to pull it out : but this fact another season will clear up. It would be curious indeed, if the nettle should be found to instil its poison into the wound it makes, by a power it may be deprived of by squeezing it hard.

I have now troubled you, my Lord, too long, and I am afraid to little purpose. Whether you may discover the traces of mechanism, or ascribe these phenomena to some unknown principles, I am sure it would give me very great pleasure to learn from you what I am to think of the matter.

I shall most certainly take the first opportunity I can find, either at Edinburgh or in the country, to wait upon your Lordship, and to pay my respects to the botanic Lady who threatens me with a visit. She shall certainly find me more complaisant than Mahomet did the mountain ; though I believe the best way to ensure the visit she promises, would be to keep out of her sight till she sees me here.— With respectful compliments to her, I am, with entire esteem and regard, your Lordship's, &c.

J. NASMITH.

Here is a bit of more paper, and therefore I will add, that they have got of late into some of the gardens, a new species of the sensitive plant, that is so very feeling, that if a fly pitches upon a leaf, it closes so suddenly, and with so much force, as to catch and crush the insect to death.

IV.

IV. *From Dr THOMAS REID to Lord KAMES.*

On some Doctrines of Dr Priestley ; and of the French Philosophers.

1775.

Dr Priestley, in his last book, thinks, that the power of perception, as well as all the other powers that are termed mental, is the result of such an organical structure as that of the brain. Consequently, says he, the whole man becomes extinct at death, and we have no hope of surviving the grave, but what is derived from the light of Revelation. I would be glad to know your Lordship's opinion, whether, when my brain has lost its original structure, and when, some hundred years after, the same materials are again fabricated so curiously as to become an intelligent being, whether, I say, that being will be *me* ; or, if two or three such beings should be formed out of my brain, whether they will all be *me*, and consequently all be one and the same intelligent being.

This seems to me a great mystery, but Priestley denies all mysteries. He thinks, and rejoices in thinking so, that plants have some degree of sensation. As to the lower animals, they differ from us in degree only, and not in kind. Only they have no promise of a resurrection. If this be true, why should not the King's Advocate be ordered to prosecute criminal *Brutes*, and you Criminal Judges to try them. You are obliged to Dr Priestley for teaching you one-half of your duty, of which you knew nothing before. But I forgot that

that the fault lies in the Legislature, which has not given you laws for this purpose. I hope, however, when any of them shall be brought to a trial, that he will be allowed a *fury of his peers*.

I am not much surprised, that your Lordship has found little entertainment in a late French writer on Human Nature*. From what I learn, they are all become rank Epicureans. One would think, that French politesse might consort very well with disinterested benevolence; but, if we believe themselves, it is all grimace. It is flattery, in order to be flattered; like that of the horse, who when his neck itches, scratches his neighbour, that he may be scratched by him again. I detest all systems that depreciate human nature. If it be a delusion, that there is something in the constitution of man that is venerable, and worthy of its Author, let me live and die in that delusion, rather than have my eyes opened to see my species in a humiliating and disgusting light. Every good man feels his indignation rise against those who disparage his *kindred* or his *country*; why should it not rise against those who disparage his *kind*? Were it not that we sometimes see extremes meet, I should think it very strange to see atheists and high-shod divines, contending as it were who should most blacken and degrade human nature. Yet I think the atheist acts the more consistent part of the two: for surely such views of human nature tend more to promote atheism, than to promote religion and virtue.——

* HELVETIUS, *De l'Esprit*.

V. FROM THE SAME.

On the Conversion of Clay into Vegetable Mould.

October 1. 1775.

———— The theory of agriculture is a wide and deep ocean, wherein we soon go beyond our depth.

I believe a lump of dry clay has much the same degree of hardness, whether the weather be hot or cold. It seems to be more affected by moisture or drought: and to be harder in dry weather, and more easily broken when a little moistened. But there is a degree of wetness in clay which makes it not break at all when struck or pressed: it is compressed and changes its figure, but does not break.

Clay ground, I think, ought to be ploughed in the middle state, between wetness and dryness, for this reason: When too dry, the plough cannot enter, or cannot make handsome work. Those clods are torn up, which require great labour and expence to break them. And unless they are broken, the roots of vegetables cannot enter into them. When too wet, the furrow, in being raised and laid over by the plough, is very much compressed, but not broken. The compression makes it much harder when it dries, than it would have been without that compression. But when the ground is neither too wet, nor too dry, the furrow, in being raised and laid over by the plough, breaks or cracks with innumerable crevices, which admit air and moisture, and the roots of vegetables.

Clay,

Clay, when exposed in small parts to the air, and to alternate moisture and drought, mellows into mould. Thus a clod of clay, which is so hard in seed-time, that you may stand upon it without breaking it, will be found in autumn of the colour of mould, and so softened, that when you press it with the foot it crumbles to pieces. On some clays this change is produced in a shorter time, in the same circumstances ; others are more refractory, and require more time.

If wet clay is put into the fire uncompressed, I am informed that it burns to ashes, which make no bad manure.

But if the clay be wrought and compressed when wet, and then dried, and then put into the fire, it burns into brick, and with a greater degree of heat, into a kind of glass.

These, my Lord, are facts ; but to deduce them from principles of attraction and repulsion, is beyond the reach of my philosophy : and I suspect there are many things in agriculture, and many things in chemistry, that cannot be reduced to such principles ; though Sir Isaac Newton seems to have thought otherwise.

Human knowledge is like the steps of a ladder. The first step consists of particular truths, discovered by observation or experiment : The second collects these into more general truths : The third into still more general. But there are many such steps before we come to the top ; that is, to the most general truths. Ambitious of knowledge, and unconscious of our own weakness, we would fain jump at once, from the lowest step to the highest. But the consequence of this is, that we tumble down, and find that our labour must be begun anew. Is not this a good picture of a philosopher, my Lord ? I think so truly ; and I should be vain of it, if I were not afraid that I have stolen it from Lord Bacon. I am, &c.

THO. REID.

VI.

VI. FROM THE SAME.

On the Generation of Plants and Animals.

MY LORD,

(No date, but supposed 1775.)

I have some compunction for having been so tardy in answering the letter which your Lordship did me the honour to write me of the 6th November, especially as it suggests two very curious subjects of correspondence. But, indeed, my vacant time has been so much filled up with trifles of College business, and with the frequent calls of a more numerous class of students than I ever had before, that there was no room for any thing that could admit of delay.

You have expressed with great elegance and strength the conjecture I hinted with regard to the generation of plants.

I am indeed apt to conjecture, that both plants and animals are at first organized atoms, having all the parts of the animal or plant, but so slender, and folded up in such a manner, as to be reduced to a particle far beyond the reach of our senses, and perhaps as small as the constituent parts of water*. The earth, the water, and the air, may, for any thing I know, be full of such organized atoms. They may be no more liable to hurt or injury, than the constituent elementary parts of water or air. They may serve the purposes of common matter, until they are brought into that situation which

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Nature

* This opinion is similar to that of M. BONNET. See his *Considérations sur les Corps Organisés*, and his *Contemplation de la Nature*.

Nature has provided for their unfolding themselves. When brought into their proper matrix or womb, perhaps after some previous preparations, they are commonly surrounded with some fluid matter, in which they unfold and stretch themselves out to a length and breadth perhaps some thousand times greater than they had when folded up in the atom. They would now be visible to the naked eye, were it not that their limbs and vessels are so slender that they cannot be distinguished from the fluid in which they float. All is equally transparent, and therefore neither figure nor colour can be discerned, although the object has a considerable bulk. The foetus now has a fluid circulating in its vessels; all the animal functions go on; it is nourished and grows, and some parts, first the heart, then the head, then the spine, by getting some colour, become visible.

It is to be observed, that from the time that the heart first appears in the pellucid liquor, until the time of birth, the animal grows gradually and insensibly, as it does after birth. But before it is visible, it must have increased in size many thousand times in a few days. This does not look like growth by nourishment, but like a sudden unfolding of parts, which before were wrapped up in a small atom.

I go along with your Lordship cordially, till you come to the first formation of an organized body. But there I hesitate. "May there," (say you), "not be particles of a certain kind endowed with a power to form in conjunction an organized body?" Would your Lordship allow that certain letters might be endowed with the power of forming themselves into an *Iliad* or *Æneid*, or even into a sensible discourse in prose? I confess our faculties carry us but a very little way in determining what is possible and what is impossible, and therefore we ought to be modest. But I cannot help thinking, that such a work as the *Iliad*, and much more an animal or vegetable body, must have been made by express design and
counsel

counsel employed for that end. And an author whom I very much respect, has taught me, "That we form this conclusion, not by any "process of reasoning, but by mere perception and feeling*." And I think that conclusions formed in this manner, are of all others most to be trusted. It seems to me as easy to contrive a machine that should compose a variety of epic poems and tragedies, as to contrive laws of motion, by which unthinking particles of matter should coalesce into a variety of organized bodies.

"But," says your Lordship, "certainly the Almighty has made "none of his works so imperfect as to stand in need of perpetual "miracles." Can we, my Lord, shew, by any good reason, that the Almighty finished his work at a stroke, and has continued ever since an unactive spectator? Can we prove that this method is the best; or that it is possible that the universe should be well governed in this way? I fear we cannot.

And, if his continued operation be necessary or proper, it is no miracle, while it is uniform, and according to fixed laws. Though we should suppose the gravitation of matter to be the immediate operation of the Deity, it would be no miracle, while it is constant and uniform; but if in that case it should cease for a moment, only by his withholding his hand, this would be a miracle.

That an animal or vegetable body is a work of art, and requires a skilful workman, I think we may conclude, without going beyond our sphere. But when we would determine how it is formed, we have no *data*; and our most rational conjectures are only reveries, and probably wide of the mark. We travel back to the first origin of things on the wings of fancy. We would discover Nature *in puris naturalibus*, and trace her first operations and gradual progress.

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But

* Lord Kames himself.—*Essays on Morality, &c.* Chapter *On the Idea of Power.*

But alas ! we soon find ourselves unequal to the task : and perhaps this is an entertainment reserved for us in a future state.

As to what you say about Earth or Soil ; there seems indeed to be a repulsion of the parts, when it is enriched by the air, or by manure. And in consequence of this, it swells, and occupies more space. But, I conceive, it gets an additional quantity of matter, from the moisture and air which it imbibes, and thereby increases both in bulk and weight. I have been told, that a dunghil made up of earth, dung, and lime, trenched over two or three times, at proper intervals, and then led out, will be found to make more cart-loads than it received : and I believe this to be true. If the earth taken out of a pit does not fill it again, I am apt to think there must have been vacuities in the earth at first, perhaps made by the roots of plants that have decayed, by moles, insects, or other causes.—I am, my Lord, &c.

THO. REID.

VII. *From Dr WALKER to Lord KAMES.*

On Hot-Blooded and Cold-Blooded Animals.

MY LORD,

Moffat, November 8. 1775.

I thought till very lately that I should have had an opportunity of waiting upon your Lordship at Blair-Drummond, before the meeting of the session ; but being disappointed in this, I must content myself with paying my respects to your Lordship in the present form.

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I was much pleased with the Verulamian spirit of your Lordship's letter. It contains a number of facts which should point at something. In the mass, they are a Chaos or an Erebus. But even from such a mass, the power of just induction is capable of commanding some light or order.

The fact concerning the hot blood and hot breath of the Greenlanders and Esquimaux, I never met with, and would have no dependance on, unless it were ascertained by the thermometer, in the hands of a person of skill.

We know that in the natives of the torrid zone, the heat of the blood, in perfect health, is the same with that of Europeans, which is 96° in Fahrenheit. But I can recollect nothing that can be called a provision given them by Nature against heat, excepting a most profuse perspiration. Yet it is a certain fact, that the African Negroes can labour in degrees of heat beyond the power of any white people, whether Europeans or Creolians.

The precise heat of the blood has been measured by the thermometer but in few animals. It is generally assumed, that in all animals which have a double heart, or two ventricles and two auricles, the blood is of the same, or nearly of the same heat with the human. I think this is likely, and I know nothing to the contrary, yet would not say, without actual trial, that there are no exceptions.

The double-hearted animals seem to inhabit all the regions of the earth indifferently. The elephant, the lion, and the monkey, occupy the hottest parts of the globe; and the beaver, the bear, the seal, and the whale, go as far north as man has travelled.

The animals which have a single heart, or only one auricle and one ventricle, are well known to have colder blood than the former, and of course, to our touch, feel cold. These favour the theory
your

your Lordship aims at, more than the former. Such of them as live in the air, are chiefly the inhabitants of the hotter parts of the earth, as the various species of tortoise and lizard. Such of them as live in the water, that is, all the fishes, can neither strengthen nor weaken your theory, as the disparity of heat between the polar and equatorial parts of the ocean, is small, compared to that of the air.

The serpent kind make a great part of the cold-blooded animals; and they too, in general, occupy the hotter climates. But we have a few species which inhabit the arctic regions, and these suggest this singular observation, That if their cold blood fits them for bearing the greatest heat, which it really seems to do, it also supports them under the greatest cold. No double-hearted animal seems capable of enduring the high degrees of cold, with as little detriment as a snake. It seems to be the only animal capable of being frozen, and not to death: For though frozen like water, and rigid as a rod of ice, heat is capable of thawing again the vital principle, or at least of restoring it, after it was, to all appearance, gone.

As for Dr Reid's idea of organized atoms diffused at large through the universe, and detached from all animal and vegetable bodies *, it is not countenanced by any thing within the sphere of my knowledge. He adduces no facts, nor do I recollect any, to support it. I should wish to know his illustration of it, as our worthy friend is not one who is ready to assume things upon slender grounds. Upon that subject, I have long despaired of our ever getting beyond this plain truth, "That all plants and animals are propagated by seeds, " or analogous organizations; which organizations and seeds, are " formed out of unorganized matter by the power of the vital principle of the animals and plants, in the way of secretion."

By

* See Dr Reid's Letter to Lord Kames, immediately preceding.

By analogous organizations, I here mean the bud of a tree, the section of a polypus, and such like organized parts, which are capable, like seeds, of growing up into a complete plant or animal.

The power, indeed, by which this is performed ; the secretory power of plants and animals, is a wonder of wonders ! A Lyncean anatomist, with his greatest magnifiers, cannot penetrate the darkness in which this is involved. The transmutation of matter, by animal and vegetable secretion, is obvious to every eye, and must strike with wonder every contemplative mind. The manner of this transmutation, however, seems to be that high legerdemain, which Nature never will reveal. But if, by this power, bread and water can be changed into flesh and blood, bones and sinews, and into the Argus-eye on the peacock's tail ; if by this power, water alone can be converted into the hardest wood, into aromatic flowers, and the richest fruits ; I then cease to wonder, that the same water should, by this power, be converted into a seed, capable of unfolding itself into a future plant.

I require no aid, therefore, from previous, extraneous, or vagrant organized atoms. I see no assistance they can afford. The philosophy of particles I dislike, and especially of such as are of doubtful existence.—Yours, my very good Lord, most sincerely,

JOHN WALKER.

VIII.

VIII. *From the same to Lord KAMES.*

On the Generation of Animals and Plants.—Wonderful provisions of Nature for the Dissemination and Preservation of Plants.

MY LORD,

Moffat, February 29. 1776.

I received on Saturday the honour of yours, and have sent inclosed the paper on the Propagation of Plants, by the conveyance your Lordship directed. I should have been glad to have brought my thoughts upon the subject to Edinburgh, before the rise of the session, but I am so situated, that I can only send them. Nothing prevented their being sent sooner, but the apprehension of their being of little consequence.

The doctrine of *equivocal generation* was universally admitted, till about 130 years ago; but not so much indeed by the ancients, as by the half-enlightened moderns, before that period. Much longer it could not well continue, as it is a doctrine that can subsist only where human knowledge and human understanding are but in a glimmering state. In this state, philosophers saw mites generated from rotten cheese, and myriads of flies and creeping things arise from a dunghil, or a putrid marsh. Ignorant of the natural history and generation of these animals, what could they do, since philosophers must give a *ratio quare* for every thing, but conclude them to be mere spontaneous productions, and the effects, not of generation, but of corruption?

To

To add to their foolery, the degrading doctrine never was extended to a lion, or a horse, but confined to the poor insects; merely because they were creatures of whose nature they were ignorant. They knew not, that the same power and wisdom were necessary to form a maggot, that are required to produce an elephant*.

The same conclusion, however, they always formed concerning many vegetables, whose seeds escaped their eyes, such as the ferns, mushrooms, and mosses. Because they saw no seeds in such vegetables, they asserted they had none: And while the oak and the laurel were dignified with generative faculties, these plants were vilified as the progeny of putridity. Equivocal generation thus became the asylum of their ignorance.

I am clear, therefore, for extending unequivocal generation to all vegetables, and in maintaining this fundamental truth in nature, "*Omne vivum ex ovo*." By the *ovum* in vegetables, I mean a seed, or any part of a plant that contains a bud, or is capable of forming it. They are the same thing: for every bud, as well as every seed, contains the embryo of a future plant. I know of no way, therefore, in which Nature propagates plants, but by seeds, suckers, and layers. The last method is imitated by art, in *cuttings*, *grafting*, and *inoculation*. I have heard of some late experiments of propagating trees by planting their leaves, but I do not believe the fact, and could demonstrate, I think, *à priori*, that it is impossible.

As

* Pliny has expressed this sentiment strongly, though with his usual quaintness: "In magis siquidem corporibus, aut certè majoribus, facilis officina sequaci materia fuit. In his tam parvis, atque tam nullis, quæ ratio, quanta vis, quàm inextricabilis perfectio!—Sed turrigeros elephantorum miramur humeros, taurorumque colla, et truces in sublime jactus, tigrium rapinas, leonum jubas, quum rerum natura nusquam magis quàm in minimis tota sit."—PLIN. *Hist. Nat.* xi. 2. (Editor.)

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As plants are destitute of loco-motion, it may be urged, that other ways of propagation might be expected, in order more easily and fully to replenish the earth. The keen attention of the most discerning men for forty years past, has failed in discovering any other method of propagation, than by seeds, suckers and layers. If there was any other general way of propagation observed in nature, I am at a loss how it could have escaped their observation. But, to go a step further, I do not hesitate to affirm, that the means of propagating plants already known in the economy of nature, are fully sufficient to answer all the purposes for which plants are designed.

By means of suckers and layers, plants indeed can only cover that spot of earth which is contiguous. But it is agreeable to observe, that those plants which are most unfertile in the production of seeds, are the most prolific in the production of suckers, and *vice versa*. And hence arises a secret but fundamental principle in husbandry and gardening: The growth of unfertile suckers must be powerfully restrained, if you would obtain a large quantity of seeds or fruit.

Numerous and wonderful are the expedients practised by nature for the dissemination of plants.—Some seed-vessels burst with an explosive force, in order to throw the seeds to a distance. This is the case with our whin, (furze); and was it otherwise, the seeds would fall, to be suffocated in the heart of an impenetrable bush.—Some seed-vessels do not burst till they are wet with rain; but those seeds are found to be more easily destroyed by drought than any others, and to require immediate moisture when they are sown. The ash and the plane have heavy seeds, but they are supplied with wings. A gale of wind can carry them from their lofty situation to a considerable distance, and they remain on the tree till that gale arrives.—The seeds of more humble plants, that they may rise and remove, spread more sail to the wind. The thistle spreads his beard, and
away

away he travels to fix his residence in remote parts. A plant of this kind, the *Erigeron Canadense*, Linn. was received from Canada, about 100 years ago, into the Paris garden. It is now spread as a wild plant over France and Holland, over Germany and Italy; it is said over Sicily; and to such a degree over the south of England, that it is now enumerated in the English lists of indigenous plants.—Some seeds, such as the clot-bur, are of an adhesive nature; they lay hold of animals that come near them, and they are carried off, and spread far and wide.

Many other agents are employed by nature to preserve the earth completely stocked with plants. The sea and the rivers waft more seeds than they do sails from one part of the world to another. I have found seeds dropt accidentally into the sea among the West India Islands, cast ashore on the Hebrides.—The Island of Ascension is but the dross of a volcano, and that of a recent date. Its immense distance from land, must render its acquisition of vegetable seeds very difficult and precarious. I know but two ways in which it could be supplied with plants by Nature. The one by the waters of the ocean, the other by birds. By one or other of these ways, it has now got possession of three species of plants, and only three: A singularity no where else known on the face of the globe.

The animal creation is supported by the vegetable: but in return, the vegetables owe much of their progress and propagation to animals. Nay, while an animal is supported by the apparent destruction of a vegetable, he is, in fact, only the instrument of its further propagation. The swine, the moles, the mice, the squirrels, and a thousand other animals, are constantly at work, though with other views, upon this employment. But among all the animals, the birds and gaminivorous quadrupeds are the prime agents in the dissemination of plants.

Many birds live upon fruits and berries. The pulp is their aliment: But they discharge the seeds unimpaired, and by that means spread them every where abroad. These seeds are heavy, and not provided, like others, with any apparatus for flight. But all this is abundantly supplied by the birds which devour them. Hence the bacciferous trees and shrubs appear sometimes whimsical in the choice of their situation. I have seen plantations of holly, yew, whitebeam, rowan, or mountain-ash, spindle-tree, hawthorn, and juniper, formed by the birds of the air, upon inaccessible precipices and impending cliffs, which far excelled, and even disgraced, in point of beauty, the plantations of men.

The mistletoe of old was deemed also, by the wise men, a product of equivocal generation; because it grew upon trees, and had no flower which they could perceive. They saw, indeed, its large, round, heavy berries. These they thought might fall to the ground, but never could mount up into trees; and it was therefore concluded, that they were not the seeds of the plant. It was long since discovered, however, that no berries are more grateful to the birds of the thrush kind; and it is by them they are evacuated, and planted upon high and remote trees.

It is remarkable, that the vegetating power of seeds, instead of being impaired by their passing through birds, seems rather increased. The seeds of the magnolias brought from America, have generally refused to vegetate under the management of the most skilful gardeners. But I have been told a curious fact, brought from America by Lord Adam Gordon, That when these seeds are eaten and voided by turkies, they never fail to grow. As your Lordship is intimate with Lord Adam, you may be more certainly informed of this remarkable observation.

It

It is well known, that the dung of domestic animals, while it fertilizes a garden, likewise fills it with a great quantity and variety of weeds. All the seeds they eat; which are various and numberless, are discharged entire, and not less fit for vegetation. This to me is a miracle in nature; that seeds should withstand the power of animal digestion, which no other vegetable substance can, and which they are also unable to do once they are broken. This is such a provision for the preservation and dissemination of seeds, as I cannot look upon without wonder.

Thus much for the propagation of plants; any other method except by seeds, suckers, and layers, appears to me both unknown and unnecessary. And so farewell to equivocal generation. I can scarce write of it without being a little ruffled. So ill it corresponds with the more august and comfortable ideas of creation, which have made one of the principal articles of happiness in my life. I am afraid of going into detail upon the second article of your paper. My mind upon the subject is shortly this.

The ultimate particles of the solids of all animals and vegetables, as far as glasses can go, appear organized:—That they were once unorganized is unquestionable; for I allow of no organization, but what is perceptible to the eye, or by its effects:—That they are organized by the plant or animal, and lose their organization upon its dissolution:—That they have no power to organize themselves:—That they are purely passive, and formed into an organic body, by the assimilating power of the plant which assumes them:—All these points correspond with your Lordship's opinion in your letter. They may be misunderstood and controverted; they may be obscured by ingenuity, and opposed by one hypothesis piled upon another; but if I know any thing of Nature, they are positions which will stand the test.

As.

As to the infinite series of embryo's in the seed of a plant, I have the same opinion of it as your Lordship. It is invisible and incomprehensible, two unlucky properties in a material subject; nor can it have any effects assigned to it which we cannot deduce from a more palpable and rational cause. I always looked upon it as a silly conceit, which arose from viewing the *plantula in semine*. I am so far from thinking that future plants subsist in a seed, that I am persuaded that the plant immediately produced from a seed does not subsist in it, in its perfect form, and in all its parts. The plume and radicle do indeed subsist in it, and these have a power to produce all the parts of the plant complete. We can by culture, by cutting, clipping, and different ways, give such various forms to a plant, that to imagine these, or any one of these subsisted in miniature in the parent seed, is perfectly visionary.

Your Lordship next puts a puzzling question—By what cause does a seed begin to vegetate in the earth? Here the *primum mobile* is to me perfectly mysterious. I cannot form even in idea any explanation of it that is satisfactory. The original cause I doubt is placed beyond our view, but the secondary or immediate cause lies within our reach, and may be ascertained.

Animals have a circulation; but plants, so far as I have yet found, only a progressive motion of their juices. Harvey placed the life of animals in the circulation of the blood: and the opinion has ever since generally been received in medicine. Our great medical friend*, however, now demonstrates that it is an opinion void of foundation. The nerves in animals are a system of vessels upon which life does more immediately depend, than either the blood-vessels or their contents. But as there is no such system in plants, I hold with respect to them the doctrine of Harvey; and am of opinion

* I presume, Dr Cullen.

opinion that life in them consists immediately and essentially in the motion of the sap. What is then the immediate cause of vegetation, that is, of the motion of the sap? I answer, heat.—Heat, figuratively speaking, is the heart of vegetables. It is the cause that moves and propels their sap into a progressive motion, as the heat does the blood of animals, into a motion that is circulatory. Thus far we can go, and I believe no farther. In both cases, the remote cause of motion is secret, and far removed from all human inspection.

The ascent of the plume and the descent of the radicle, is indeed a surprising phenomenon; yet I think it may be accounted for upon a mechanical principle. To ascend and descend is not the ultimate view of these two parts in their growth; but the endeavour of the one is to get into the air, and of the other into the earth. And to attain these two ends, as seeds are generally deposited in or near the surface of the ground, the plume must ascend, and the radicle descend. But place seeds in the roof of a cave, or in an inverted flower-pot. What is the consequence? I know it well from repeated observation. The radicle ascends, and the plume descends: That is, the first pursues its road into the earth, and the other into the air, in whatever direction the air and the earth are placed. There is therefore a sympathy, an attraction, or if these displease, a something, I know not what, between the plume of a plant and air. But by whatever name it may be called, it is the immediate cause of plants shooting into that element, and quite different from a mere tendency to shoot upwards.

The point at the juncture of the two cotyledons, or seminal leaves, is the place from whence the plume and radicle spring; and this I look upon as the *punctum saliens vite*, both in seeds and plants. Here the radicle ends and the plume begins. I have examined, but
have

have been able to discover nothing particular in this place upon dissection : and yet it is the chief seat of the vegetating power in a seed. The cotyledons may be cut off; the plume or radicle may without detriment be impaired : But this point cut off or destroyed, the plant is gone.

I know something of Bonnet as a philosopher, and did not think he could have indulged such a chimera about a lobster. Yet I agree perfectly with your Lordship, concerning the bulk of the French and German writers. I know well how liable they are to run to the excess of riot. I find equal ingenuity and more sobriety in a Swiss, a Swede, or an Italian. In Germany the human understanding is not yet perfectly enlightened with respect to Nature. There is scarce a Prince, a Grandee or a Professor, who is not in some degree a miner and a chemist. Yet few of them have yet got free of Kircher's subterranean people, of the spirit of the mine, or the *virgula divinatoria* ; and many of them still labour under the power of the alchemist, as the Emperor's present physician does under the power of witchcraft. Many Germans excel in particular parts of natural history ; but in such a country it is no wonder that men should fail, upon subjects where just and enlarged ideas of the powers of Nature are required.

The errors of the French proceed not so much from the country as the people. Those very qualities which make them shine in other parts of literature, make them bad theorists. From Des Cartes down to Buffon, France has certainly produced the worst system-mongers that ever put pen to paper, and more of them, too, than any other country.

I had written thus far when I just now received your Lordship's letter, dated yesterday. The alpine plants are the most difficult to preserve

preserve in a garden, as they suffer there more cold in winter, and more heat and drought in summer than in their natural situation. Snow is their defence against the cold, where they grow naturally; and wherever they are cultivated, this must be imitated by art. I have learned from this, in searching for alpine plants, about the summits of our highest mountains, where to find them in greatest plenty and variety. It is always in those places to which the snow is apt to be blown, where it lies thickest and remains longest. Let the cold of the atmosphere be what it will, the thermometer under snow never falls below 32° , the freezing point. None of the plants I have yet tried suffer any injury from this degree of cold under snow. In our last storm, when the thermometer was generally down from 20° to 12° at midnight, I had a parcel of plants kept under deep snow for six weeks. Some of them were plants that cannot stand the open air in winter; yet when the snow went off, they were fresher and in much better condition than if they had been standing all the while in a greenhouse.

Several different diseases in sheep pass by the name of Rot. Whenever sheep are suffered to grow lean to a certain degree, they always become diseased in some shape or other. The disease properly called the Rot, proceeds sometimes, I think, from their feeding through necessity on acrid plants. Yet I have no further evidence for this, than observing the disease most prevalent, where I see the *pinguicula*, *drosera*, and *ranunculus* in greatest abundance, and pastured by the sheep. It is the happy property of the grasses, which form our pastures, that even after they have perfected their seeds, they revegetate directly from the root. They shoot away afresh in their foliage, to give a new and immediate supply of provision, and this lasts till the winter is somewhat advanced. One

valuable grass we have on our mountains which feeds the sheep with its foliage in summer, and with its large white succulent roots in winter.

I beg leave to offer my most respectful compliments to Mrs Drummond. I was not unmindful of her heath, but it got only last week from under its snow cover, and it was rather too soon in the season to transport it. I have sent, however, two plants of it, which I would place in the open ground in a rich sandy soil, and cover them in frost or in dry weather with a bell glass.

I have inclosed the note sent by Miss Blackburne concerning the new sensitive plant discovered in the East Indies. I am, with the greatest respect, your Lordship's most obliged and most obedient servant,

JOHN WALKER.

IX. *From Lord KAMES to Dr WALKER.*

On the same Subject.

MY DEAR SIR,

Blair-Drummond, April 12. 1776.

I acknowledge myself your sincere convert about the propagation of plants ; and zealous, like other new converts, I condemn myself for endeavouring to rear up conjectural causes, that in all appearance have no foundation, when the known causes are sufficient. This subject is to make an article in my present work ; and if you do

do not put a negative upon me, honourable mention shall be made of the Reverend Dr Walker, and even passages of his letters quoted. Perhaps you despise such incense, as your fame extends already over a very wide territory ; but I have some little vanity, and am not without the hope, that as my work will certainly be the better for your name, so it will do that name no discredit, that it finds an honourable place in it.

So frequently have I been indebted to you for knowledge, that in all my difficulties I lean to you for more. Supposing water, with what it contains, to be the food of plants, I cannot explain why certain plants, such as the whin, (furze) Scotch fir, juniper, heath, thrive best in bad soil. If it be thought that a soil retentive of moisture may hurt them, by affording too much, I borrow an answer from Dr Hales, that superfluous moisture cannot hurt them, because it is discharged at the leaves.

Where plants flourish and bear fruit but once a-year, it is natural to think, that in a cold climate, this should be in summer. Yet the laurustinus flourishes all winter, and is without flowers in the heat of summer only. At the same time, it cannot stand much frost in our climate. The whin is in some measure similar, at least in flowering all winter, except during frost. I would gladly have some notion of the nature of such plants. I have begun a late acquaintance with plants, and am fond of arriving at a more intimate one.

You remember Van Helmont's experiment of a willow growing to a considerable size in a vessel of earth regularly watered, without exhausting any of the earth. Yet in the *Transactions of the Royal Society*, anno 1699, Dr Woodward proves, by several experiments, that a considerable quantity of the earth was exhausted. This is an article of importance concerning the food of plants. In my Theory,

I have quoted Van Helmont, and it would vex me should I build upon a wrong foundation.

The Circuit begins at Dumfries on Friday the 17th of May. I expect you there, with an answer to my queries, there to remain *no-lens volens*, as my assessor during the whole time. But perhaps you may be called up to the *General Assembly*: If so, resolve to be at Blair-Drummond, when it breaks up, at which time I shall have returned from my circuit. You need never otherwise venture to look Mrs Drummond in the face.—A delightful prospect of flowering shrubs and of fruit.—A young laurustinus, which, by your directions, I covered with snow, is at present in full blow, when all the rest of its tribe seem to be dying, having been miserably scorched by the severe frost.

I long to converse with you about your appearing in print. For that end, you proposed to be in Edinburgh about February, and you have never told me what prevented you. You must resolve to publish in parts, otherwise you may happen never to publish at all. Consider that every part you publish takes a load off your shoulders. There is besides an advantage in this method: It gives opportunity from time to time to improve or connect the parts published. Mahomet knew that cunning trick, when he published his *Coran* piecemeal. Yours, while I know myself to be,

HENRY HOME.

X.

X. *Dr WALKER to Lord KAMES.*

On the Aliment of Plants, and the Soils they most affect.

MY LORD,

Moffat, July 13. 1776.

I received on Friday the honour of your letter by Miss G., and was at any rate to have written this week. I have better reason than your Lordship to complain of not making good the visit to Blair-Drummond, because I am sure I was more disappointed. Dr Cullen was to come out with me on Monday, but was prevented by the illness of the Chief-Baron and Commissioner ———.

As to the aliment of vegetables, Van Helmont's experiment has always been considered, and I believe justly, the *experimentum crucis* upon the subject. Woodward's trials, so far as they militate against it, I suspect to be fallacious. When he speaks of earth as the aliment of plants, I suppose he means generally, if not always, the earth in rain or spring water; and if he does, he differs not from Van Helmont. If I remember right, some of his trials indeed were made by mixing earth with the water in which the plants were nourished. If a little of this earth was lost, I would ascribe it rather to its diffusion in the water, and to the evaporation, than to its being absorbed by the plant. Earth indeed, strictly speaking, is not thus easy to evaporate; but the earth he used was soil, and this, especially if it is rich, always contains a large proportion of animal and vegetable substance, capable of evaporation. Besides we know, that without any soil, a plant
can

can be raised to be considerable both in bulk and weight. By water alone, M. du Hamel raised an oak, which grew and increased for seven years, without any thing else.

But there is another medium, by which your Lordship's difficulty may be solved, and Van Helmont and Woodward reconciled. I am clear, that rain-water contains all the alimentary matter necessary for the support of plants, and that this matter is a subtile earth, or, to be less exceptionable, a subtile earthy substance. This I assume, as demonstrated by experiment. I next suppose, that this earth is not fossile, but animal and vegetable substance highly attenuated. This I think capable of being proved by induction. My conclusion follows: If plants are nourished by the animal and vegetable matter in rain-water, I see no reason why they may not absorb the same matter, when it is lodged in a rich soil, and dissolved in water. I am persuaded they do; and though in a small quantity, it may be sufficient to occasion a perceptible diminution of weight in the soil employed for the support of a plant.

By embracing this opinion, I must grant indeed the following inference; and I grant it readily, as I believe it to be the case, "That
" all animal and vegetable manures, though they act chiefly by al-
" tering the texture of the soil, yet in some degree they also serve
" as alimentary matter to plants, but that all fossile manures act
" only by altering the texture of the soil."

The attachment of plants to particular soils, is owing to different causes, but chiefly to the nature of their roots. The Scotch fir, and indeed all the pines, delight in blowing sand, more than any other trees, though the soil of all others the least tenacious of moisture. But besides moisture, these trees demand another property in their soil. They have exceeding long horizontal roots; they thrive best where they can most easily extend them; and therefore choose the
most

most pervious soil. They have fewer absorbing fibres at their roots than any trees I know ; and must, therefore, have a larger spread of roots, than those trees whose absorbing fibres are more numerous upon the roots.

Heath, likewise, is remarkable for the extraordinary length of its roots, and the scarcity of its fibres ; but it stands in need of more moisture than the fir. It requires, therefore, a soil that is both pervious and wet, and it well knows where these two qualities are combined in the highest perfection ; as *Moss Flanders** can testify.

Juniper requires not a moist soil, but a moist air, and is therefore a mountain plant. It can live on the poorest and driest soil, as it does on the mountains ; but there it is sufficiently supplied by moisture from the air. If it is planted in a low station, or in a dry climate, it then requires a wet soil, as a succedaneum for the moist atmosphere, in which it naturally lives.

The same is the case with the yew. Where it grows naturally in Britain, in a low station, it is always in a damp soil. Sometimes it grows on the very driest soil, as in the clefts of rocks ; but then at so great a height as to live in a very humid air. In a warmer climate, as in Italy, it requires a station still higher than with us : *Aquilonem et frigora taxi*.

These are a few instances to shew why many plants affect to grow in a soil commonly reckoned infertile. Our idea of a perfect soil, we apply to that which affords the most luxuriant crops of eight or a dozen species of cultivated plants. But alas ! what a small portion of the globe is occupied by such a soil ! We are not, therefore, to imagine, that this is the most perfect soil for all plants, nor reprobate all others as sterile and imperfect. A soil which a mere farmer would pronounce the most imperfect, is for many plants perfect

* Otherwise called the *Moss of Kincardine* : See p. 28. of this Volume.

perfect in the highest degree. And without this, how could the earth be every where clothed with beauty? . What diversity of soil, climate, and situation, must be required to suit the taste, and raise to perfection, above 20,000 species of vegetables, each of which almost has a different propensity in one or other of these three articles !

Plants translated from one climate to another, strictly observe their original season of flowering, unless prevented by some powerful cause. The climate of the shores of Spain and Portugal, in December and January, suits the flowering of the *laurustinus* ; but the cold of Scotland, in these months, is not sufficient to deter him from his season. I mean the milder parts of Scotland ; for in the higher and more rigorous parts of the country, I see the cold is really sufficient to put him past his season, and to prevent his spreading any flower till April. Was I to see a *laurustinus* flowering with us in winter, and had never heard of the shrub, I would, without scruple, pronounce it no native of this country. And for the same reason, I would deny the *arbutus* to be a native of Ireland, or the whin of Scotland. The fancy these shrubs have to flower with us in January, is plainly an outlandish fashion. No sensible Scotch plant would ever think of such a thing. Plants brought from the southern hemisphere, and which flower there, when the sun is in Capricorn, never mind the sun one bit when he is in Cancer, but adhere to their old December rule.

If your Lordship is to build a new fruit-wall, I hope you can have it of brick. Let it have neither excavations nor projections. Instead of pillars, plant evergreen hedges, holly and yew, at large distances, for breaking the course of the wind along the wall. By all means let the trees have elbow-room ; and for this purpose, they will require from five to fifteen feet greater distance than most gardeners will direct. Their distance, however, must be proportioned to the height

height of the wall. But at any rate, one good tree is better than half a dozen bad ones. There is one apricot at Prestonfield, capable to afford a sufficient quantity of that fruit ; and this season, I believe, more than sufficient for any family. It is 120 years old ; but this valuable tree would have been dead 70 years ago, if it had not had more wall to spread upon, than is allowed for any apricot at present.

All gardeners, and writers on gardening, advise the fronting of a fruit-wall to the south-east, rather than to the south or west. I own I am of a different opinion. I would rather choose the south ; and if circumstances answer, I would prefer two points to the west, or even the south-west exposure, to all others.

The only reasons I have heard given for a south-east exposure are these : That the trees receive the sun earlier in the day, and that they are sooner freed of the dew. But both, according to my mind, are erroneous.

In the months of May, June and July, fruits depend greatly upon the dew for their progress to maturity ; more, I believe, than upon rains. The most dewy are always the best fruit seasons. A scarcity of dew in May and June, brings the fruit off the tree in myriads, and what remains is of a stunted growth, which no heat afterwards can bring to perfection. Therefore, instead of abridging, I would rather prolong the duration of dews upon my trees, so far as is consistent with their receiving the greatest heat of the day.

And to secure this great point, What are the six hottest hours of the day, from May to September ? They are from eleven o'clock in the forenoon to five in the afternoon ; and it is not a south-east, nor a south, but a south-west, that enjoys the sun during these six hours in its greatest strength.

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By a south-west exposure, then, we obtain for fruits what above all things they want, the most moisture, and the greatest heat. By no other exposure can these two articles be had combined to such a degree.

Observe two borders in a garden, one upon an east, the other upon a west wall. If they are of the same soil, the west border, all the summer over, is the driest, because it receives most heat. A west wall at Moffat, can produce a magnum plum, large and well ripened; but an east wall can with difficulty ripen a heart-cherry.

It is throwing away a wall to bestow it upon vines, figs, and nectarines. These three fruits should with us be confined to the hot-house: For a good plum is certainly better than a bad nectarine.

Whatever way a wall is fronted, it is a great matter to have a dry and a deep soil, and a full shelter at a proper distance, either from trees or from rising ground.

But I am afraid of tiring your Lordship. I wish the thing has not happened two or three pages ago. Whatever is in any letter I write, is entirely at your Lordship's service, for whatsoever purpose you please; nor will I grudge to write, while I have reason to think they can afford any entertainment to your Lordship.—I ever am, with the highest regard, your Lordship's most obliged and devoted servant,

JOHN WALKER.

[The

[*The three following Letters from the late Dr JOSEPH BLACK, Professor of Chemistry, to Lord KAMES, ought to have been inserted immediately before the 5th Article of this Number of the Appendix.—The Remarks subjoined to them are from the same hand to which I am indebted for the Criticism on Lord KAMES's Gentleman Farmer.*]

XI. *From Dr BLACK to Lord KAMES.*

On the Attraction between Clay and Water.

MY LORD,

Edinburgh, May 23. 1775.

I shall now give you what occurs upon the subjects of your Lordship's three letters, without further apology for the lateness of my answer.

It is certain that one kind of earth is soluble in water,—the calcareous earth. I have made the experiment with the purest water that can be had,—water distilled with a gentle heat in glass vessels; and such water manifestly dissolved a small quantity of the calcareous earth in its ordinary natural state. Whether clay also can be perfectly dissolved by water, I cannot determine at present, not being acquainted with any experiment that is so nice a trial of this question as that by which I satisfied myself of the dissolution of the

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calcareous

calcareous earth. That there is an attraction between clay and water is beyond doubt; but we have not yet any evidence that this attraction is of that kind that can produce a transparent dissolution of the clay in the water. It appears to be the same with the attraction of small vacuities for water and other fluids. It is manifestly stronger than the attraction of the particles of the clay for one another; by it the water penetrates the dry and hard clay, and separates to a certain distance the particles of it from one another, interposing itself every where between them, and occasioning the mass to swell considerably; but the same thing happens in other examples, which are considered as cases of the attraction of small vacuities. Dry wood, ivory, horn, &c. are also swelled by water. The particles of them are not removed to such a distance from one another, nor their mutual attraction so much diminished; but they are softened and rendered more pliable to a certain degree.

The different states to which clay is reduced, by being simply soaked with water, or kneaded with it, may, I think, be explained in this manner. When water is applied to a dry lump of clay, it must first penetrate the external parts of it. When these receive a certain quantity of water they swell. The external crust of the clay being thus enlarged in all its dimensions, the parts of it cannot remain united to one another, and to the internal parts of the mass which are not yet swelled. Innumerable cracks and divisions are therefore formed in it, which split it into small parts, and this in a very irregular manner; a mass of clay being seldom homogeneous, and equally penetrable to water. In the external crust itself there are numerous *nuclei*, which the water gets round and affects in the same manner as the whole mass. The external crust being thus shattered, the water during its progress inwards produces the same effect upon the parts of the clay that are next within it, and thus splits

splits and disunites the parts of the whole mass successively ; the rents and divisions formed at first in the more external parts being enlarged afterwards by the irregular swelling of the internal. Wherever the smallest crack or flaw happens in a mass of this kind, the parts separated by such a crack or flaw are placed beyond the reach of one another's attraction. The particles of clay adhere to one another by the attraction of cohesion, which reaches only to a very small distance ; so small, that we cannot perceive it by means of our senses. When we approach masses of matter to one another, in order to make the attraction of cohesion take place, we cannot perceive that it operates until such masses appear to our senses to be in the closest contact ; though nice experiments shew that it does begin to act before they come into actual contact. The numerous rents, therefore, formed in the clay, while the water is penetrating it, place the parts which they separate beyond the reach of their mutual attraction, and the whole is a shattered pulpy and penetrable mass. But if this mass be compressed and wrought, as is done to prepare clay for the use of the potter, all the separate parts of it are brought again within the reach of one another's attraction ; they are brought as near as the water, which is every where interposed between them, will permit ; and as their attraction is stronger at smaller distances than at greater, the particles of the clay cohere the more firmly the less water is mixed with it, and most firmly when the whole water is evaporated : but if the mass be beaten to powder after it is dry, its cohesion is again destroyed, because the parts into which it is separated by the mechanical force, are by such separation placed beyond the reach of their attraction for one another : nor can they be properly applied to one another again, unless water be used, which, as a medium or gluten, makes them cohere, and brings them

them together again, in consequence of the attraction which they have for it.

It is not easy to give a clear and satisfactory answer to your Lordship's query respecting the inequality between evaporation and rain, as it appears by experiments made at land. The only way I can account for it is by an hypothesis, viz. that the greatest part of the water which arises into the air by evaporation, arises from the sea; and that when it descends again in rain, it falls mostly upon the land. The first part of the hypothesis will be easily admitted. The second was suggested by an observation of Monsieur Bougainville's in his voyage through the Pacific Ocean. He says, that when they were far from land, the sky was always serene, and they had a moderate and regular trade-wind; but when they approached land, they had generally clouds, squalls and showers, and that thus they learned by experience to perceive by these signs their approach to land before they were in sight of it; that when they saw a cloud upon the horizon, and sailed towards it, they were sure to meet with land. How this happens, is a difficult question, which is not easily discussed.

Thus I have given your Lordship, without any ceremony, my views of these subjects, and shall be happy if they any way contribute to your examining them better, and seeing them more clearly than I do, or give you entertainment in any shape; but this I cannot hope to do, by continuing this letter beyond its present unreasonable length: so I shall conclude, and beg leave to subscribe myself, your Lordship's faithful humble servant,

JOSEPH BLACK.

XII. *From the same to Lord KAMES.*

On the same Subject.

MY LORD,

Edinburgh, September 7. 1775.

If you are an object of the new Charity which you propose to establish, it must be in the same sense that a miser may be called an object of charity ;—not because he wants, but because he has insatiable desires.

However it be, it will always give me pleasure to gratify your Lordship.

That water when it penetrates a mass of dry clay, increases the bulk of it, is proved by this easy experiment. A mass of wet clay being dried, contracts in all its dimensions, by about one-twelfth or more, according to the purity or wetness of it.

The bad effects of ploughing clay in a wet state, appear to me explicable thus. Clay, which has been simply wetted by rain at the surface of the earth, is not uniformly coherent and solid throughout. It is intersected with innumerable, though small cracks, and flaws, into which the roots of plants can insinuate themselves ; it therefore never has the toughness of wrought clay ; but quickly acquires it if wrought and compressed, the divisions being thus abolished, and the
the

the parts brought every where into close contact with one another.— You will find the reason of this difference between wrought and unwrought clay, in the letter I wrote your Lordship last winter; and from this difference, you will readily understand the bad effects of ploughing, or poaching, clay land, while it is so wet that the parts of it, when applied to one another, will readily cohere.—I am, my Lord, &c.

JOSEPH BLACK.

XIII. *From the same to Lord KAMES.*

On the same Subject.

MY LORD,

Edinburgh, September 15. 1775.

I now understand that what you require of me is to answer this question:—How much water does wet clay contain? does it contain a quantity which corresponds exactly to the difference of bulk between the wet clay, and the same clay dried, or does it contain a smaller quantity than this?—If this question were put concerning wrought clay, it would be easily decided by an experiment, but I cannot contrive a way of making it with unwrought clay.

Your difficulty in understanding me, arises from your always considering wet clay as a mass, the parts of which are in an equal state of contact and cohesion throughout. This is a just idea of clay
that

that has been *wrought* ; and in such clay, though still wet, the cohesion is throughout too strong to be easily overcome by the roots of plants, or to allow of the ready transmission of water through it, and the ploughing and poaching of wet clay brings it more or less into this state. But this is not the *natural state of wet clay*, at the surface of the earth ; in some parts of it the cohesion is as strong as in the other ; but *the cohesion is not equal throughout the mass*. It is shattered and split into innumerable fragments, and it is by means of the rents which thus divide it, that it proves more easily penetrable to the roots of plants and to water. If we work this shattery mass in its wet state, we make a tough lump of it. If after this we let it dry perfectly, and then soak it in water without working it, we bring it back to its shattery state. If you ask how it is thus split and shattered by the water penetrating into it, I refer you to the letter or letters I wrote your Lordship last winter, in which I have endeavoured to explain all this without the supposition of a repulsion.—I am, my Lord, &c.

JOSEPH BLACK.

(k 3)

REMARKS.

REMARKS.

THE tough masses of clay, which result from poaching, are probably more unfavourable to vegetation from other causes, than from any difficulty they oppose to the penetration of the roots of plants. Whatever such a mass incloses, is excluded altogether, or nearly so, from the action of the atmosphere and of water percolating in succession, and accordingly seems to undergo hardly any change, while it remains in that situation. Hence the action of putrescent manure is suspended as far as poaching extends; for that action seems to be accomplished by its continued decomposition. Lime, in the same manner, is protected from the solvent powers of the aëriform carbonic acid; and carbon, from exposure to putrid effluvia, and thereby becoming soluble in water, and from other agents which bring it into combinations of the greatest consequence to the existence and vigour of living vegetables.

It is also very probable, that the compact and stationary state of clay soils occasioned by poaching, is pernicious, by being adverse to the forming of those combinations, or undergoing those changes, which may be necessary to enable clay to enter into the composition of vegetables. There it is, however, found, and, together with sand, lime, carbon, and the elementary principles of water, with a very little iron, constitutes their substance. But they are all found there in a state of chemical union and combination, which indicates that they had undergone great changes in the course of their introduction

tion into the vegetable economy. It indeed seems requisite, that they should be rendered soluble in water, or in some of its elements, in order to be admissible into the roots of plants. But it is not easily conceivable, that any process tending this way, can proceed in the tough compact masses of mixed clay and sand, to which the soils called *clay* are reduced by poaching. These masses, if exposed to a brisk heat, agglutinate, and constitute a manure, probably by decomposing the water in the soil: for water becomes fetid if conducted by tyles not coated with slime: and it may be suspected, that if the agglutinated clay and sand decompose water, part of the compound is dissolved in one of the elements of water. But if a tough mass of poached clay and sand is left to dry by the action of the sun and air, no agglutination takes place, nor any approach to it; but merely, (what Dr Black takes notice of), the mass acquires the capacity of becoming shattered by the next affusion of water on it. Hence poaching can do no good as a preparation for an agglutination, which does not take place by the operation of the atmosphere; and though clay and sand form, severally, combinations with the fixed alkalies, which are soluble in water, and, in that state of union, enter into combinations with the sulphuric and muriatic acids, and exhibit, in particular circumstances, some curious affinities with colouring and combustible substances; the more compact and tough the masses of clay and sand are rendered by poaching, the less likely it is, that any of these chemical qualities should be called into action, or any of those analogous changes proceed, which are supposed to take place in soils almost insensibly, and to account for the nutrition of plants from materials of difficult solubility, the descent of lime in the soil, and other phenomena.

It would be very desirable to the farmer to know in what state of pulverization, and mixture with certain proportions of sand, chalk,

or

or pounded limestone, with or without additions of charcoal and putrescent manure, clay is most retentive of water. There is no doubt, that the attraction of clay for water, (in which, however, it does not appear to be in the least degree soluble), is one of its most important properties as a constituent of soils; and that if the superiority of the loamy mixtures of earths, in retaining water over those clays that become extremely indurated in drought, were examined, and ascertained; and if it could be imitated artificially, and a similar retentive quality conferred on the latter by agricultural operations, or if a degree of approximation to it could be obtained at a defined expence, hardly any discovery would be productive of more important benefit to the most useful of all arts;—and yet it is a discovery in the power of almost every intelligent farmer to make, by performing, with patience, attention and discrimination, a sufficient number of the most simple experiments.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.—No. III.

On certain Critical Remarks by Dr WARBURTON and M. DE VOLTAIRE, on some parts of Lord KAMES's Writings.

IT was a well-known failing of Dr WARBURTON, a man certainly of very uncommon learning and genius, that, presuming too much on the sufficiency of his own powers, he seemed to consider himself as having finally decided and set at rest every topic or matter of controversy which he ever treated in any of his numerous writings. Conceiving that Lord Kames, in his *Elements of Criticism*, when examining the question, Whether ridicule is a test of truth? had attacked his opinions on that subject, as if no other man had ever written on it but himself, he takes every opportunity that he can find to treat his supposed antagonist with sarcasm and abuse. His own notions regarding ridicule, are no other than what had been maintained by various other writers as well as himself*; nor is there a single expression of the author of *Elements of Criticism*, from which it can be presumed, that he had ever read one word of what Dr Warburton had written on that subject. Indeed, the loose and desultory manner in which the latter treats the topic in question, in that extraordinary piece of writing, entitled a *Dedication to the Free-thinkers*, (among whom we shall see he classed Lord Kames), prefixed to his great work of *The Divine Legation*, &c. was not suited

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to

* Addison, Bishop Berkeley, Brown, &c.

to attract the attention of a metaphysical examiner. It is therefore not a little curious to remark the indignant air with which the author repels this supposed attack on his peculiar opinions, and the high strain of contempt with which he treats his imagined opponent.

‘ The author of a late book, called *Elements of Criticism*, speaking of men’s various opinions concerning the *use of ridicule*, proceeds against what is here said, in the following manner :—‘ This dispute has produced a celebrated question, Whether ridicule be, or be not a test of truth? which, (says he), **STATED IN ACCURATE TERMS**, is, whether the sense of ridicule be the proper test for distinguishing ridiculous objects from those that are not so? To answer the question with **PRECISION**, I must premise, that ridicule is not a subject of reasoning, but of **SENSE OR TASTE**.’ Vol. ii. p. 55.—The critic having thus changed the question, which he calls, *stating it in accurate terms*; and obscured the answer, which he calls, giving it *with precision*, he concludes, ‘ that ridicule is not only the best, but the only test of truth.’—His second change of the question is a new substitution, viz. Whether ridicule be a talent to be used or employed at all? Of which he supposes *me* to hold the negative. What else is the meaning of these words, ‘ **TO CONDEMN A TALENT FOR RIDICULE**, because it may be converted to wrong purposes, is not a little ridiculous. Could one forbear to *smile* if a talent for reasoning was condemned, because it also may be perverted?’ p. 57.—He has no reason to *smile*, sure, at his own misrepresentation. I never condemned a talent for ridicule, because it may be abused.’ (*Dedication to Div. Leg. of Moses*).—Might not Lord Kames here have put a question? “ Did I ever charge *you* with having made this misrepresentation, or ever take notice of you at all, in the dispute? Are you the only writer who has maintained that ridicule is not a test of truth?”

Again,

Again, in a note of Dr Warburton's on Pope's second Dialogue of the Epilogue to the Satires, (*Warburton's Pope's Works*, vol. iv. p. 328.)

O sacred weapon left for truth's defence, &c.

To all but heaven-directed hands deny'd, &c.

' Mr Henry Home, a *Lord of Session*, and late writer of a book, entitled *Elements of Criticism*, replies to this character of ridicule, as follows:—' Ridicule is but a gross pleasure. A people, it is true, must have emerged out of barbarity, before they can have a taste for ridicule. But it is too rough an entertainment for those who are highly polished and refined. Ridicule is banished France, and is losing ground daily in England.'—This observation is of so singular a complexion, that one can hardly tell whether it is to be taken in jest or earnest. By *highly polished and refined*, he tells us he means delicacy of taste; but as amongst the polite, delicacy is commonly understood to mean sickliness, and as, according to this writer's decision, ridicule is the best test of truth, and truth and liberty go together, when he talks of ridicule being banished France, his condemnation of this noble touchstone of truth must be altogether ironical. But as, on the other hand, this copious writer has composed three large volumes to substitute taste to common sense, I should suppose him to be in earnest.'

So likewise in a note of the same writer on the *Essay on Man*, vol. iii. p. 8.

Superior beings when of late they saw, &c.

' And here let me take notice of a new species of the sublime, of which our poet may be justly said to be the maker; so new, that
' we

' we have yet no name for it, though of a nature distinct from
 ' every other beauty of poetry. The two great perfections in works
 ' of genius are *wit* and *sublimity*: Many writers have been witty;
 ' some have been sublime; but none that I know of besides our
 ' poet, had the art to *incorporate* them; of which he hath given
 ' many examples, both in this Essay and in his other poems; one
 ' of the noblest being the passage in question. This seems to be
 ' the last effort of the imagination to poetical perfection; and in
 ' this compounded excellence, the wit receives a dignity from the
 ' sublime, and the sublime a splendor from the wit, which in their
 ' state of separate existence, they neither of them had. Yet a late
 ' critic, who *writes with the decision of a Lord of Session on Par-*
 ' *nassus*, thinks otherwise.—' It may be gathered (says he) from
 " what is said above, that wit and ridicule make not an agreeable
 " mixture with grandeur. Dissimilar emotions have a fine effect in
 " a slow succession; but in a rapid succession, which approaches
 " to co-existence, they will not be relished.'—What pity it is that
 ' the poet should here confute the critic, by doing what the critic
 ' with his *rules*, teaches us cannot be done. Boileau, who was both
 ' a poet and a critic, had a clear view of this excellence in idea;
 ' while the mere critic had no idea of what had been clearly set
 ' before his eyes:

" *On peut être à la fois et pompeux et plaisant,*

" *Et je bais un sublime ennuyeux et pesant.*"

Every one must be sensible that the question here disputed can be
 determined only by an appeal to feeling: and notwithstanding the
 concurring opinion of Warburton and Boileau, it is probable there
 may still be many good judges who will agree with Lord Kames in
 condemning

condemning this new kind of sublime, which the poet is here said to have had the merit of inventing, (though the passage from Boileau proves the contrary), and which his commentator extols as the last effort towards poetical perfection. The impression made by wit is of a light and playful kind; *circum præcordia ludit*, that made by sublimity is grave and powerfully affecting. These impressions, so different in their nature, cannot aid each other by union, but must mutually destroy each other's influence. It has been justly observed, that *Lympha pudica Deum vidit et erubuit*, (which was not invented by Pope), would be an ingenious piece of wit, if it did not excite too solemn an emotion; and it would be sublime, were it not for its wit. As it is, the thought is neither a good example of wit nor of sublimity: and the same observation, if I do not much mistake, will apply to the passage which gave rise to this criticism; in which, the thought of the "Angels shewing a *Newton*, as men show an *ape*," is neither truly dignified, nor truly witty; but an unnatural and fantastic compound, quite unworthy of the general good taste of the poet. In this, as in several other instances, the commentator has truly done his author no service by his misplaced encomium: the latter might say to him here with some justice, *Pol, me occidistis, amice*.

Again, in the first note on the *Dunciad*,

"The mighty mother," &c.

'The author of *Elements of Criticism*, sits from time to time on our poets, whom he tries by critical rules which he has invented, and laid down for the purpose of his *general visitation* of English poets and poetry.—'The author (Pope), says he, is guilty of "much greater deviation from the rule. Dulness may be imagined

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“ a deity or idol, to be worshipped by bad writers : but then some
“ sort of disguise is requisite, some *bastard virtue* must be bestowed,
“ to give this idol a plausible appearance. Yet in the *Dunciad*,
“ Dulness, without the least disguise, is made the object of worship.
“ The mind rejects such a fiction as unnatural.’—But is there no
‘ bastard virtue (says Warburton) in the *mighty mother* of so nume-
‘ rous an offspring, which she takes care to bring *to the ears of*
‘ *kings* ? Her votaries would, for this single virtue, prefer her in-
‘ fluence to Apollo and the nine muses. Is there no bastard virtue
‘ in the peace of which the poet makes her the author?—‘ *The*
“ *goddess bade Britannia sleep*.’—Is she not celebrated for her beauty,
‘ another bastard virtue?—‘ *Fate this fair idiot gave*,’ &c.—But of
‘ all her bastard virtues, her *Free-thinking*, the virtue which she
‘ anxiously propagates amongst her followers in the 4th Book,
‘ might, one would think, have been sufficient to have covered the
‘ poet from *this* censure.’ [Here the Critic betrays in plain words
the radical ground of his enmity. He had *heard* Lord Kames vul-
garly reported as one of the sceptical writers; and without farther
examination or acquaintance with his works, he chimes in with the
vulgar report.]—‘ But, (continues he), had Mr Pope drawn his
‘ goddess without the *least disguise*, it had not signified a rush.
‘ *Disguised* or *undisguised*, the poem had been neither better nor
‘ worse; and he has secured it from being *rejected as unnatural*, by
‘ ten thousand beauties of nature.’—Now, what is all this to say?
The critic first admits the propriety of the rule, which Lord Kames
is said to have “invented for his own purpose,” by endeavouring to
prove, in opposition to him, the consonance of that very imagined
personage, the Goddess of Dulness, to that rule, as being en-
dowed with many bastard virtues; and afterwards, being resolved
to justify his favourite author, at all hazards, he concludes with
his

his own *dictum*, that it is of no consequence whether the picture had been consonant to this standard or not; for however faulty in one particular, the poet had redeemed this fault by a thousand beauties. Does this prove, against Lord Kames, that the *fault* itself is a *beauty*, or even that it is of no consequence?

With respect to M. DE VOLTAIRE, Lord Kames was guilty of a complicated offence of a very heinous nature. He had censured the *Henriade* as cold and unnatural, from its treating its incidents too little in detail, *Elem. of Crit.* vol. ii. p. 333. He had blamed the action as being too recent, and consequently too familiar, *Ibid.* p. 382. He had found great fault with the introduction of the imaginary personages of Sleep, Discord, Fanaticism, &c.; and he had pronounced on the whole, that the *Henriade* must be a short-lived poem, *Ibid.* p. 389. This, no doubt, was a very heavy act of aggression in the critic. But he had dared, moreover, to extol *Shakespeare*, for his exquisite knowledge of human nature, and skill in touching the passions; while in some instances, he censured, in those respects, the great masters of the French drama, *Racine* and *Corneille*. The offence was altogether of a nature quite unpardonable: We shall give a specimen of Voltaire's revenge. He had criticised with great freedom these writers of his own country, in a thousand instances, himself; and he had once been the most ardent of Shakespeare's panegyrists.

‘ Un Grand Juge d'Ecosse, qui a fait imprimer des *Elémens de Critique Anglaise*, en trois volumes, dans lesquels on trouve des réflexions judicieuses et fines, a pourtant eu le malheur de comparer la première scène du monstre nommé *Hamlet* à la première

VOL. II. I scène

‘ scène du chef-d’œuvre de nôtre *Iphigénie*. Il affirme que ces vers
 ‘ d’*Arcas*,

‘ *Avez-vous dans les airs entendu quelque bruit ?*

‘ *Les vents nous auraient-ils exaucés cette nuit ?*

‘ *Mais tout dort, et l’armée, et les vents, et Neptune ;—*

‘ ne valent pas cette réponse vraie et convenable du sentinelle dans
 ‘ *Hamlet* : *Je n’ai pas entendu une souris trotter*.—Oui Monsieur, un
 ‘ soldat peut répondre ainsi dans un corps-de-garde ; mais non pas
 ‘ sur le théâtre, devant les premières personnes d’une nation, qui
 ‘ s’expriment noblement, et devant qui il faut s’exprimer de même.
 ‘ —Que ce soldat ait vu ou n’ait pas vu passer de souris, cet évène-
 ‘ ment est très-inutile à la tragédie d’*Hamlet* ; ce n’est qu’un dis-
 ‘ cours de *Gilles*, un proverbe bas, qui ne peut faire aucun effet. Il
 ‘ y a toujours une raison pour laquelle toute beauté est beauté, et
 ‘ toute sottise est sottise.’—*Lettre de M. de VOLTAIRE à l’Académie*
Française.

‘ Ce Monsieur *Home*, Grand Juge d’Ecosse, enseigne la manière
 ‘ de faire parler les héros d’une tragédie avec esprit : et voici un
 ‘ exemple remarquable qu’il rapporte de la tragédie de *Henri IV.*
 ‘ du divin *Shakespeare*. Le divin *Shakespeare* introduit *milord Fal-*
 ‘ *staff*, *chef de Justice*, qui vient de prendre prisonnier le chevalier
 ‘ *Jean Coleville*, et qui le présente au roi :—“ Sire, le voilà ; je vous
 ‘ le livre ; je supplie votre grace de faire enrégistrer ce fait d’armes
 ‘ parmi les autres de cette journée, ou pardieu je le ferai mettre
 ‘ dans une balade avec mon portrait à la tête ; on verra *Coleville* me
 ‘ baisant les pieds. Voilà ce que je ferai, si vous ne rendez pas ma
 ‘ gloire aussi brillante qu’une pièce de deux sous dorée,” &c.—C’est
 ‘ cet absurde et abominable galimatias, très-frequent dans le divin
 ‘ *Shakespeare*,

‘ *Shakespeare*, que M. *Jean Home* propose pour le modèle du bon goût et de l’esprit dans la tragédie. Mais en récompense, M. *Home* trouve l’*Iphigénie* et la *Phèdre* de Racine extrêmement ridicules.’
—L’*Homme aux xl Ecus*, Note (f.)

‘ Permettez moi de vous soumettre quelques singularités curieuses de l’*Essai sur la Critique*, en trois volumes, de M. *Home*, Lord *Makains*, (c’est le titre d’un des Juges de Paix en Ecosse.) On ne peut avoir une plus profonde connoissance de la nature et des arts que ce philosophe, et il fait tous ses efforts pour que le monde soit aussi savant que lui. Il nous prouve d’abord que nous avons cinq sens, et que nous sentons moins l’impression douce faite sur nos yeux et sur nos oreilles par les couleurs et par les sons, que nous ne sentons un grand coup sur la jambe ou sur la tête. Il nous instruit de la différence que tout homme éprouve entre une simple émotion et une passion de l’ame; il nous apprend que les femmes passent quelquefois de la pitié à l’amour.——De-là, passant à la mesure du tems et de l’espace, M. *Home* conclut mathématiquement que le tems est long pour une fille qu’on va marier, et court pour un homme qu’on va pendre : puis il donne des définitions de la beauté et du sublime. Il connaît si bien la nature de l’une et de l’autre, qu’il réproouve totalement ces beaux vers d’*Athalie*,

‘ *La douceur de sa voix, son enfance, sa grace, &c.*

‘ Il trouve que le monologue de *Dom Diègue*, dans le *Cid*,

‘ *O rage ! O désespoir ! O vieillesse ennemie ! &c.*

‘ est un morceau déplacé et hors d’œuvre, dans lequel *Dom Diègue* ne dit rien de ce qu’il doit dire. Mais en récompense, le critique

‘ nous avertit que les monologues de *Shakespeare* sont les seuls
 ‘ modèles à suivre, et qu’il ne connoit rien de si parfait. Il en
 ‘ donne un bel exemple, tiré de la tragédie d’*Hamlet* :

‘ *Oh si ma chair trop ferme, ici pouvait se fondre,*

‘ *Se dégeler, couler, se résoudre en rosée, &c.*

‘ Quelques lecteurs seront surpris peut-être des jugemens de *M. Home*
 ‘ Lord *Makims* ; et quelques Français pourront dire que *Gilles* dans
 ‘ une foire de province s’exprimerait avec plus de décence et de
 ‘ noblesse que le Prince *Hamlet*.—C’est avec le même goût et la
 ‘ même justesse qu’il trouve ce vers de Racine ridiculement am-
 ‘ poulé :

‘ *Mais tout dort, et l’armée, et les vents, et Neptune.*

‘ *M. Home* porte ainsi sur tous les arts des jugemens qui pourraient
 ‘ nous paraître extraordinaires. C’est un effet admirable des pro-
 ‘ grès de l’esprit humain, qu’aujourd’hui il nous vienne d’Ecosse des
 ‘ règles de goût dans tous les arts, depuis le poème épique jusqu’au
 ‘ jardinage. L’esprit humain s’étend tous les jours, et nous ne
 ‘ devons pas désespérer de recevoir bientôt des poétiques et des
 ‘ rhétoriques des îles Orcades. Il est vrai qu’on aimerait mieux
 ‘ encore voir de grands artistes dans ces pays-là, que de grands
 ‘ raisonneurs sur les arts. Il est aisé de dire son avis sur le Tasse
 ‘ et l’Arioste, sur Michel-Ange et Raphaël ; il n’est pas si aisé
 ‘ de les imiter : et il faut avouer, qu’aujourd’hui nous avons
 ‘ plus besoin d’exemples que de préceptes, aussi bien en France
 ‘ qu’en Ecosse. Au reste, si *M. Home* est si sévère envers tous
 ‘ nos meilleurs auteurs, et si indulgent envers *Shakespeare*, il faut
 ‘ avouer qu’il ne traite pas mieux Virgile et Horace. *M. Home*
 ‘ donne toujours son opinion pour une loi, et il étend son despo-
 ‘ tisme

‘ tisme sur tous les objets. C’est un juge à qui toutes les causes
‘ ressortissent. Ses arrêts sur l’architecture et sur les jardins ne
‘ nous permettent pas de douter qu’il ne soit de tous les magi-
‘ strats d’Ecosse le mieux logé, et qu’il n’ait le plus beau parc.
‘ Il trouve les bosquets de Versailles ridicules ; mais s’il fait jamais
‘ un voyage en France, on lui fera les honneurs de Versailles, on
‘ fera jouer les eaux pour lui, on le promènera dans les bosquets,
‘ et peut-être alors ne sera-t-il pas si dégoûté. Après cela, s’il se
‘ mocque des bosquets de Versailles, et des tragédies de *Racine*, nous
‘ le souffrirons volontiers : nous savons que chacun a son goût,’ &c.
—*Lettre à un Journaliste.*

To these critical remarks of M. de Voltaire, there is nothing to
reply. We can do no more than agree cordially in the last senti-
ment he expresses, *que chacun a son goût.*

APPEN-

APPENDIX.—No. IV.

Character of Lord KAMES by Dr REID, in an Extract from the Dedication of his Essays on the Intellectual Powers of Man.

“ IT would be ingratitude to a man whose memory I most highly respect, not to mention my obligations to the late Lord Kames, for the concern he was pleased to take in this work. Having seen a small part of it, he urged me to carry it on; took account of my progress from time to time; revised it more than once as far as it was carried before his death; and gave me his observations on it, both with respect to the matter and expression. On some points we differed in opinion, and debated them keenly, both in conversation and by many letters, without any abatement of his affection, or of the zeal for the work's being carried on and published. For he had too much liberality of mind not to allow to others the same liberty in judging which he claimed to himself. It is difficult to say, whether that worthy man was more eminent in active life or in speculation. Very rare surely have been the instances where the talents for both were united in so eminent a degree.

“ His genius and industry, in many different branches of literature, will, by his works, be known to posterity. His private virtues and public spirit, his assiduity through a long and laborious life in many honourable public offices with which he was entrusted, and his zeal
to

to encourage and promote every thing that tended to the improvement of his country, in laws, literature, commerce, manufactures, and agriculture, are best known to his friends and cotemporaries."

Extract of a Letter from Dr REID to Mrs DRUMMOND, after the death of Lord KAMES.

"I accept, dear Madam, the present you sent me*, as a testimony of your regard, and as a precious relic of a man whose talents I admired, and whose virtues I honoured; a man who honoured me with a share of his conversation, and of his correspondence, which is my pride, and which gave me the best opportunity of knowing his real worth.

"I have lost in him one of the greatest comforts of my life; but his remembrance will always be dear to me, and demand my best wishes and prayers for those whom he has left behind him.

"When time has abated your just grief for the loss of such a husband, the recollection of his eminent talents, and of his public and domestic virtues, will pour balm into the wound. Friends are not lost who leave such a character behind them, and such an example to those who come after them."

APPEN-

* A gold snuff-box.

APPENDIX.—No. V.

Three Letters from Mrs MONTAGU to Lord KAMES.

I. *Anticipates a Visit to Blair-Drummond.*

MY LORD,

Sandleford, August 28. 1772.

As next summer and Blair-Drummond are at a great distance, it is happy for me that I have a rapid imagination, which whirls through space and time faster than the fiery-footed steeds of Phœbus, whose progress may be marked by shadows and counted by clocks. I am come; I am arrived; I am actually at Blair-Drummond; I am sitting by your Lordship on the seat you marked with my name. The river is fretting over the pebbles, or foaming among the rocks; just as we human creatures are fretfully and peevishly murmuring at the little impediments, or raging and storming at the great obstacles that thwart us in the progress of life. I see Ben-Lomond lift his scornful brow, frowning with proud disdain on the vainly emulating hills, and humble unaspiring vales beneath him; just emblem of human greatness, human power! Thou sendest forth the eagle and the vultur, and many a beast and bird of prey upon thy humble subjects: And shall the barren top of the hill of storms, which hurls the shivered rock, or rolls the cataract upon the fertile valley, boast of its pernicious eminence, and scorn what lies
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in the better mean? Let us then turn to the village Lord Kames has built. I hear the hammer of the artificers, the wheel of the spinsters, the voice of mirth, the play of children, the social greetings of friendly neighbours.—Proud Castle! did sounds so cheerful echo through your walls when the Regent kept his state there? No. Envy and jealousy ran in whispers through the rooms of state: drunken riot roared in the hall; party and faction clamoured at the gate. What then is suggested from the prospect around us, but that the present state of Scotland is far happier than the former? that it is well the Highlander is come down from his forts and fastnesses, the mountains and rocks, to beat his broad-sword into plough-shares, and to cultivate instead of plunder the valleys. But best of all, that the barbarian Chieftain has left the castle where tyranny and oppression were protected, to give place to a milder Lord, who wields the sceptre of justice, instead of the iron-rod of power.

Now that we are returned from our walk, I wish my imagination could farther represent to me the chapter of your book, which I know your Lordship would read to me on such an occasion. I have not, alas, the elements of which this book will be made; learning and wit, the foundation on which the structure will be raised. I can only build castles in the air. I cannot therefore at all substitute my empty visions in lieu of it. Finish your work; publish, and put the world in possession of it. Till then I am uneasy and impatient.—I inclose this to our friend Dr Gregory, &c.

ELIZ. MONTAGU.

II. FROM THE SAME.

On the Death of Lord LYTTTELTON.

MY LORD,

Sandleford, October 27. 1773.

With the History of Man, I dare say your Lordship has (*con amore*) written the History of Woman. I beg, that in specifying their characters, you would take notice, that time and separation do not operate on the female heart as on the male. We need not go back so far as the time of Ulysses and Penelope to prove this. We may pass over the instances of his dalliance with the sole suitor that addressed to him, the lovely Calypso; and the constant Penelope's continued disdain of the whole herd of her pertinacious wooers. The more near and recent an example is the better; so, my Lord, we will take our own. You feel, you say, when you take up your pen to write to me, the same formality as on our first acquaintance; I, on the contrary, find my confidence in you has had time to take root. A long winter, dreary seasons, cannot blast or wither it; under its shadow I am protected from any apprehensions from your genius and learning. You appear to me in no character but that of my friend,—the sacred character of my old friend. The years of absence, the months of vacation in our correspondence, come into the account; for I remembered you, when I did not hear from you; I thought of you when I did not see you; esteem, nursed by faithful remembrance, grew up *sans* intermission: I am most sincerely rejoiced

joiced that your Lordship has completed your great work : May you long enjoy your fame ; and may you see mankind derive advantage as well as pleasure from your work ! The more Man understands himself, the less averse he will be to those Divine and human laws that restrain his licentious appetites. It is from ignorance of his nature he misapprehends his interest ; not comprehending how he is made, he disputes the will of his Maker. I am impatient for the publication of your book, and hope your printer will make all possible haste to indulge us with it. I rejoice that it has pleased God to give you life and health to finish this great work ; and I flatter myself, that though you may not again embark in so great an undertaking, so able a pen will not be consigned to indolent repose. As to my poor goose quill, it is not much to be regretted, that probably it will scribble no more. I have neither the force of good health, nor the presumption of good spirits left to animate me : without the energy of great talents, these are necessary to the task of undertaking something for the public. I have been for many months teased with a slow fever ; and the loss of my excellent Friend has cast a cloud over my mind. I remember Sir William Temple says, in one of his Essays, that when he recollects how many excellent men and amiable women of his acquaintance have died before him, he is ashamed to be alive. With much more reason than Sir William Temple, whose merit I dare say was equal at least to that of any of the friends he survived, I feel this very strongly. I have lived in the most intimate connexion with some persons of the highest characters in this age ; they are gone, and I remain : all that adorned me is taken away, and only a cypress wreath remains. I used to borrow some lustre from them, but now I seem respectable (even in my own eyes) only as the mourner of departed merit. I agree with your Lordship, that I ought not to lament the death of Lord LYTTEL-

TON on his account : His virtue could not have been more perfect in this mortal state, nor his character greater, than it was with all those whose praise could be an object to a wise and worthy man. He now reaps the full reward of those virtues, which here, though they gave him a tranquil cheerfulness amidst many vexations, and the sufferings of sickness, yet could not bring a perfect calm to the wounds his paternal affection suffered. When I consider how unhappy his former, how blessed his present condition, I am ashamed to lament him ; The world has lost the best example, modest merit the most zealous protector, mankind its gentlest friend : my loss is unspeakable ; but, as the friendship of so excellent a man is the best gift of God, and I am sensible I was never deserving of so great a blessing, I ought rather to offer thanks it was bestowed, than repine it was taken away ; and only to beg, that by the remembrance of his precepts and example, I may derive the same helps to doing my duty in all relations of life, and social engagements, as I did from his advice. But virtue never speaks with such persuasion as when she borrows the accents of a friend. Moreover, my time in this world will probably be very short ; and if it were long, I could not forget to admire so admirable a pattern of goodness.—I ever am, my Lord, &c. &c.

ELIZ. MONTAGU.

III.

III. FROM THE SAME.

On a Domestic Event ;—and on Religious Education.

[Written within a few weeks of the death of Lord KAMES.]

MY LORD,

Portman Square, Nov. 12. 1782.

I cannot wait till I have conferred with the grave Bench of Bishops on the doctrine of your letter*; to return my warmest thanks for the kind and friendly sentiments it expresses for me, and the good domestic news which it communicates.

Mr Drummond Home's excellent choice is an event of the highest importance to your happiness, as well as his own. I have long been solicitous, that a name to which you have given celebrity, a noble estate you have improved, and a charming place you have embellished, should be transmitted to your posterity. This wish was made of the common stuff, the hardware of this world: ambition, and the love of fame, &c. you may see, furnished, and fashioned it. By the account your Lordship and others have given me of your new connexion, many softer and sweeter blessings will flow from that alliance. She will embellish your society, and enliven your hours of retirement. When you are all well and in good spirits, she will add to your gaiety and pleasure: in the hours of sickness, she will alleviate pain by tender attentions. My amiable Miss G—— has made
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* See Lord KAMES's letter, to which this is an answer, at p. 233. of this Volume.

me know how much pleasure and comfort may be derived from a near connexion with a person, who adds to the various *agrémens* of youth, the discretion, and sober, and solid merit of a mature character. The seasons of life have been often compared to the seasons of the year, and each have their comforts. I think the calm autumn of life, as well as of the year, has many advantages. Both have a peculiar serenity, a gentle tranquillity. We are less busy and agitated, because the hopes of the spring, and the vivid delights of the summer, are over; but these tranquil seasons have their appropriate enjoyments; and a well-regulated mind sees every thing beautiful that is in the order of nature.

I hope your Lordship received my acknowledgments and thanks for your excellent sentiments on religious education. To errors, defects, and faults, in the first training up, we may often ascribe the irreligion of many persons; for, philosophically speaking, man is a religious animal. Sensible of his weakness, he is ever desirous of obtaining the assistance of a superior Being. The most ignorant are sensible, that great power and intelligence must have combined to form all they see in the creation: they wish for the protection and favour of this Great Being. Man must be much perverted before he can wish to disbelieve a God and Providence. His interest must be misrepresented to him, or he would never reject the means offered by Divine Revelation to make the Omnipotent his friend. The unsophisticated man is never an atheist. But when either erroneous impressions have been made upon the youthful mind, as where the Deity has been held forth as a wrathful being, clothed in terrors; or where he has observed, that those with whom he has lived, have not acted with any reference to a Superior Power, he is easily made the disciple of those who call themselves Freethinkers.

Our

Our Bishops are now in their dioceses. When they return to town, I will not fail to communicate what you sent me. I cannot imagine it is calculated to give the slightest offence. Beyond the regions of human knowledge, human authority cannot form establishments of doctrine.

I shall always be glad to find excuses to write to you. I passed the summer in Berkshire, but removed to London the first week in November. No augur ever paid more regard to the flight of birds than I do. I take a hint from the swallows to leave the country. To what region they repair, I do not know enough of their constitutions and taste to say; but I will pronounce, that for a human creature, of flimsy materials of mind and body, a capital city is the best situation. The weather has less power there; the blank and silence of the vegetable and animal world is less perceived, and there are great resources in society to prevent our feeling our own insignificance and weakness. My new house affords me many comforts; but it has lost at present its best ornament. My amiable Miss G—— is now making a visit to her family at Edinburgh; but I flatter myself she will return to me some time in the next month. In the mean while, I reflect with satisfaction on the happiness she is enjoying in her friends, and they in her. My best and most affectionate regards attend all at Blair-Drummond.—And I am, with the greatest esteem, &c.

ELIZ. MONTAGU.

APPEN-

APPENDIX.—No. VI.

The Prayer in the Conclusion of Lord KAMES's Essays on the Principles of Morality and Natural Religion.

FOR do not all these wonders, O ETERNAL MIND, Sovereign Architect of all, form a hymn to thy praise ! If in the dead inanimate works of Nature thou art seen, if in the verdure of the fields and the azure of the skies, the ignorant rustic admire thy creative power ; how blind must that man be, who, contemplating his living structure ; his moral frame, discerns not thy forming hand ? What various and complicated machinery is here ! and regulated with what exquisite art ! While Man pursues happiness as his chief aim, thou bendest self-love into the social direction. Thou infusest the generous principle which makes him feel for sorrows not his own : nor feels he only, but, strange indeed ! takes delight in rushing into foreign misery ; and with pleasure goes to drop the painful tear over real or imaginary woe. Thy divine hand thus formed the connecting tie, and by sympathy linked man to man ; that nothing might be solitary in thy world, but all tend toward mutual association. For that great end, Man is not left to a loose or arbitrary range of will. Thy wise decree hath erected within him a throne for Virtue. There thou hast not decked her with beauty only to his admiring eye, but hast thrown around her the awful effulgence of authority divine.

divine. Her persuasions have the force of a precept; and her precepts are a law indispensable. Man feels himself bound by this law, strict and immutable. And yet the privilege of supererogating is left! a field opened for free and generous action; in which, performing a glorious course, he may attain the high reward by Thee allotted, of inward honour and self-estimation. Nothing is made superfluously severe, nothing left dangerously loose, in thy moral institution; but every active principle made to know its proper sphere. In just proportion, man's affections spread from himself to objects around him. Where the rays of affection, too widely scattered, begin to lose their warmth: collecting them again by the means of a public, a country, or the universe, Thou rekindlest the dying flame. Converging eagerly to this point, behold how intense they glow! and man, though indifferent to each remote particular, burns with zeal for the whole. All things are by Thee pre-ordained, great Mover of all! Throughout the wide expanse, every living creature runs a destined course. While all under a law irresistible fulfil thy decrees, Man alone seems to himself exempt; free to turn and bend his course at will. Yet is he not exempt; but ministers to thy decree omnipotent, as much as the rolling sun, or ebbing flood. What strange contradictions are in thy great scheme reconciled! What glaring opposites made to agree! Necessity and liberty meet in the same agent, yet interfere not. Man, though free from constraint, is under bonds. He is a necessary agent, and yet acts with perfect liberty. Within the heart of man Thou hast placed thy lamp, to direct his otherwise uncertain steps. By this light, he is not only assured of the existence, and entertained with all the glories of the material world, but is enabled to penetrate into the recesses of nature. He perceives objects joined together by the mysterious link of cause and effect. The connecting principle, though he can never

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explain, he is made to perceive ; and is thus instructed to refer even things unknown, to their proper origin. Endowed with a prophetic spirit, he foretels things to come. Where reason is unavailing, sense comes in aid ; and bestows a power of divination, which discovers the future by the past. Thus Thou gradually liftest him up to the knowledge of Thyself. The plain and simple sense, which in the most obvious effect reads and perceives a cause, bring him straight to Thee the FIRST GREAT CAUSE, the Ancient of Days, the Eternal Source of all. Thou presentest thyself to us, and we cannot avoid Thee. We must doubt of our own existence, if we can doubt of thine. We see Thee by thine own light. We see Thee not existing only, but in wisdom and benevolence supreme, as in existence first. As spots in the sun's bright orb, so in the universal plan, scattered evils are lost in the blaze of superabundant goodness. Even by the research of human reason, weak as it is, those seeming evils diminish and fly away apace. Objects, supposed superfluous or noxious, have assumed a beneficial aspect. How much more, to thine all-penetrating eye, must all appear excellent and fair ! It must be so.—We cannot doubt. Neither imperfection nor malice dwell with Thee. Thou appointest as salutary, what we lament as painful. Even the follies and vices of men minister to thy wise designs : and as at the beginning of days Thou sawest, so Thou seest and pronounceest still, that *every thing Thou hast made is good.*

APPEN-

APPENDIX.—No. VII.

LETTER from the Honourable FRANCIS GARDEN of Gardenstone to
Lord KAMES, on the merits of the old English Drama.

With some Additional Observations on the same Subject.

THE following Letter to Lord KAMES from his brother Judge Lord GARDENSTONE*, which contains much ingenious and just criticism on dramatic writing, though not referred to in the preceding Memoirs, will not be deemed foreign to the purpose of the work. It illustrates the character of both correspondents, and affords a

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pleasing

* The Honourable FRANCIS GARDEN of Gardenstone, a Judge of the Courts of Session and Justiciary. He was an acute and able lawyer; of great natural eloquence; and, with much wit and humour, had a considerable acquaintance with classical and elegant literature. He was appointed King's Solicitor in 1761, and raised to the Bench in 1764. On the death of his elder brother, Alexander Garden of Troup, M. P. he succeeded, in 1785, to a very ample fortune. His tenants and dependants found him an indulgent and liberal master; and the village of Lawrencekirk, in Kincardineshire, raised by him from a few mean cottages to a large, populous and thriving baronial borough, distinguished by its industry in various branches of manufacture, is an honourable monument of his public spirit and active benevolence. Let these his merits be remembered, while his failings are humanely consigned to oblivion.

pleasing picture of the elegant amusements with which a cultivated mind can solace itself in old age. Lord Gardenstone was at this period in his 70th year; Lord Kames in his 85th.

To Lord KAMES.

MY DEAR LORD, *Fountain-Bridge, March 1. 1781.*

A man who has no whims, is, in my opinion, a stupid man. I am sure mine are, (now at least), altogether innocent, and in some particulars, useful. With this letter, I take the liberty of sending you one specimen of those which I consider to be of the innocent kind.

I lately, and accidentally, became acquainted with the works of an old dramatic poet, *Massinger*. He was a cotemporary of Shakespeare, Johnson, and Fletcher; and though in our days we have lost sight of him, he has, in my opinion, no small share of the merit which we still allow to those old poets of the stage. There is in his works, I think, a rich store of materials, a precious mine of dramatic entertainment, though incumbered with a mass of superfluous rubbish. He studied nature, and wrote with spirit and propriety, with a strange mixture of extravagance, and often absurdity; blemishes from which none of our old poets, Shakespeare himself included, are exempted. True critics will bestow the commendation of classical writing only on simple composition, joined to propriety of thought, and clear nervous expression. Such were, though in various degrees of excellence, the prevailing characteristics of our ancient dramatic poetry. Shakespeare stands at the head of the scale;

scale; and I believe will ever maintain that pre-eminence, *Nec otium tale; nec otiturum*. Dryden bestows a fine encomium on Shakespeare, and in part, on his cotemporary dramatic poets. I have the passage in my memory, though I cannot recollect where it is to be found. After some things said in his own vindication, he adds:

In spite of all his pride, a secret shame
Invades his breast at Shakespeare's sacred name;
And when he hears his godlike Roman rage,
He in a just despair would quit the stage;
And, to an age less polish'd, more unskill'd
Would with disdain the foremost honours yield.
As with the greater dead he dares not strive,
He would not match his verse with those who live.
Let him retire, between two ages cast,
The first of this, the hindmost of the last.

There is uncommon merit, if I mistake not, in these lines, though they are not commonly in the mouths of our spouters in poetry.—Ben Johnson understood the art of poetry. He was not only judicious and learned, but he had a great deal of humour, and knew how to form conversations, “such as men do use,” as he expresses it. Beaumont and Fletcher were joint labourers; and though much inferior to Shakespeare in power and strength of genius, and to Johnson in judgment and accuracy; yet in their comedies they have produced many natural characters, and pleasant scenes.

My author, Massinger, though now forgotten, was ranked among the great poets of that age. He was in high esteem. I take it to be certain, that Shakespeare himself on some occasions lent him assistance; and I think I can discern in some passages of his comedies, the marks of Shakespeare's peculiar genius. With this view, I beg.

beg your Lordship will make your observations on *Luke's* soliloquy (in the piece I send to you) after he has surveyed with transport the treasures in his brother's warehouse *. This speech appeared to me

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* The play here alluded to is the *City Madam*. The authors of the *Biographia Dramatica*, (Mr Baker and Mr Reed), give the following character of the piece :
 " This is an excellent comedy ; nor can there perhaps be shewn a more perfect
 " knowledge of the human mind, than is apparent in the behaviour of the City Lady
 " and her two daughters, to the husband's brother, who is unfortunately fallen into
 " distress, and is become a dependant on the family. The plot, the business, the
 " conduct, and the language of the piece, are all admirable. Mr Love, in the year
 " 1771, made some alterations in it, with which it was acted at Richmond."——
Luke's soliloquy in the original play is as follows :

Enter Luke with a Key...

Luke. 'Twas no phantastick object, but a truth,
 A real truth, no dream. I did not slumber,
 And could wake ever with a brooding eye
 To gaze upon't ! It did endure the touch.—
 I saw, and felt it.—Yet what I beheld
 And handled oft, did so transcend belief
 (My wonder and astonishment pass'd o'er)
 I faintly could give credit to my senses.
 Thou dumb magician, that without a charm
 Didst make my entrance easy, to possess
 What wise men wish and toil for ! *Hermes, Moly,*
Sybilla's golden bough, the great elixir,
 Imagin'd only by the alchymist,
 Compared with thee are shadows ; thou the substance
 And guardian of felicity. No marvel ;
 My brother made thy place of rest his bosom,
 Thou being the keeper of his heart ; a mistress
 To be hugg'd ever.—In bye corners of

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so admirable, that I have ventured to make very little alteration on it. I have always thought it a profanation in Garrick, and other modern reformers (as they are called) of old plays, to add or alter in the genuine strokes of Shakespeare; though I think they might have retrenched with judgment and propriety, when his strong luxuriancy of imagination runs to wildness. I have often thought,
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This sacred room, silver in bags heap'd up,
Like billets saw'd, and ready for the fire,
Unworthy to hold fellowship with bright gold
That flow'd about the room, conceal'd itself.
There needs no artificial light; the splendour
Makes a perpetual day there; night and darkness
By that still-burning lamp for ever banished.
But when guided by that, my eyes had made
Discovery of the caskets, and they opened,
Each sparkling diamond from itself shot forth
A pyramid of flames, and in the roof
Fixed a glorious star, and made the place.
Heaven's abstract, or epitome. Rubies, sapphires,
And ropes of orient pearl; these seen, I could not
But look on gold with contempt. And yet I found
(What weak credulity could have no faith in)
A treasure far exceeding these. Here lay
A manor bound fast in a skin of parchment,
The wax continuing hard, the acres melting,
Here a sure deed of gift for a market town,
If not redeem'd this day, which is not in
The unthrift's power. There being scarce one shire
In Wales or England, where my moneys are not
Lent out at usury, the certain hook
To draw in more.—I am sublim'd! Gross earth
Supports me not. I walk on air!—Who's there?
Thieves!—Raise the street!—Thieves!

and indeed it is my fixed opinion, that the Restoration was equally the æra of bad *morals* and of bad *taste* in England. There, therefore, I draw the line between the ancients and the moderns in English literature; and I do affirm, that England has produced no true genius in any species of poetry since that inglorious period. Milton, Dryden, and the author of *Hudibras*, were born and brought up before the Restoration. Our ancient poets, thus distinguished, drew natural characters, and imitated the conversations of real life. For one strong instance of this, take the inimitable character of *Falstaff*. It is carried on through three complete plays. He utters not one sentence that is not in the same character, or that would accord with any other character; from his first words in *Henry IV.* to *Hal*, "What time o' the day is it, Lad?" to some of his last words in *The Merry Wives of Windsor*, "I do begin to perceive that
" I am made an ass."

Most of our modern dramatic writers use affected language, because they have not clear ideas; and run into the regions of Invention, because they have not wisdom to discover, or genius to describe natural characters and manners. Conversation in our modern drama is much the same in all the characters. The poet studied only to be witty, and a uniform strained sprightliness of composition pervades the whole. The wise man and the fool, the old lady and the young, the fine lady and the chambermaid, the fine gentleman and the valet, all speak in the same strain, not of character, but of the poet's studied wit and composition. *Jeremy* is as witty as *Valentine*, and *Tattle* as *Scandal*. This sameness of studied wit in the dialogue is not peculiar to Congreve's plays. It prevails generally in all our comedies (tragedies I do think we have none of real excellence) since the Restoration, the period (I cannot forbear repeating it) of incorrigible manners and vitious taste. Sir Richard Steele,
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in his play of *The Conscious Lovers*, attempted with some success an imitation of Terence's natural and elegant composition in his *Andria*: but he was forced to introduce the affected characters and studied buffoonery of *Tom* and *Phillis*, and the fictitious, unnatural personage of *Cimberton*, to make it pass:—otherwise, it is my opinion a London audience would fall asleep at the exhibition of the play*.

The piece which I have attempted to alter, has, as originally written, in my opinion, many beauties, and some absurdities. I have endeavoured to preserve the former, and suppress the latter; and on the whole, to make it a regular, uniform comedy, without any mixture, on my part, of studied modern wit. You may believe that, on more accounts than one, I cannot intend it for publication, but only for private amusement to myself, and some select friends, who may relish this sort of writing, as I do; or if they should differ from me, I shall not incur the public censure, but be corrected by a private and friendly admonition. I submit it to your Lordship's judgment and taste, in which I have the greatest confidence; and I beg that you will correct and censure it with all possible freedom. I cannot be hurt, having neither fame nor profit at stake. Yet I must observe,

* The general justness of these observations must be acknowledged; but the particular criticism on these characters in the *Conscious Lovers* may admit of some dispute. The characters of *Tom* and *Phillis*, are perfectly consonant to nature, and are drawn with a very happy pencil: besides, they sustain useful parts in the drama. As to *Cimberton*, though a character exaggerated beyond nature, he is drawn with great consistency of appropriate features, and has much of that ludicrous absurdity or strong *vis comica*, characteristic of the older drama, which the writer justly prefers to the modern. The writer's own observation, that a modern audience would fall asleep at the exhibition of this play, were it not for those characters, is indeed the best criterion of their merit, and utility in the drama.

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serve, in justification of my attempt, that some of our best modern plays have been formed in this manner from plays in foreign languages, or from our own old plays. I will specify a few instances. I have already mentioned Steele's *Conscious Lovers*. The witty Buckingham formed one of the most entertaining comedies now acted on our stage, from *The Chances* of Beaumont and Fletcher; and that, without the aid of affected wit. One of Colley Cibber's best comedies is *The Non-Juror*, formed upon Moliere's *Tartuffe*; and exceptionable only in as far as he departs from the simplicity and good sense of his original, to gratify the vitious taste of his times for studied and affected wit in comedy. The same observation is applicable to Fielding's *Miser*, closely imitated from Moliere's *Avare*. I conclude this point with a great and ancient authority, which I know will please *you* better than all the rest. Horace says,

*Difficile est propriè communia dicere, tuque
Rectius Iliacum carmen deducis in actum
Quàm si proferres ignota indictaque prius.*

Lord Roscommon has singular merit in his Translation of *Horace's Art of Poetry*, which preserves more of the simplicity, elegance, and sense of the original, than almost any other version of the classical writings I know, in the English language.—I beg leave to give you his translation of this passage :

New subjects are not easily explained,
And you had better use a well-known theme,
Than trust to an invention of your own :
For what originally others writ
May be so well disguis'd, and so improv'd,
That with some justice it may pass for yours.

Before

Before I conclude this private address to your Lordship, I cannot forbear to quote a fine passage from my favourite poet, Virgil. Of one of his celebrated characters he says,

*Nec tarda senectus
Debilitat vires animi, mutatur vigorem.*

If, in addressing you, I did not with singular pleasure consider this as an apt quotation, I would not have written to you this letter, nor have given you the trouble of examining the piece, which, in so far as I have preserved the original, is, I do think, a neglected work of genius; and I will not, with affected modesty, conceal my opinion, that my own part of it has some little share of judgment and taste. —But I must repeat my request, that you will criticise it with a freedom unrestrained by any tenderness or good-nature to the author. For though I must own, that your unbiassed commendation would highly please me, yet your free censure will not mortify me; because I have the agreeable vanity to believe, (and in this I do not wish, if mistaken, to be undeceived), that in more material particulars I possess some share of your good opinion. —I am, my dear Lord, with most sincere esteem, your faithful, humble servant,

FRA. GARDEN.

THE preceding remarks are the result of that genuine good taste, which arises more from an innate sensibility to what is just and natural, beautiful or sublime, in the productions of the imagination, than from an acquaintance with critical rules, or the habit of measuring such productions by the laws of regular composition. Where

the former quality prevails, the latter will ever maintain a subordinate rank : But as the one is a very rare gift of Nature, while the other may be acquired with moderate study by any person endowed with a competent share of understanding, it is no wonder that such productions of the drama as are framed according to those artificial rules, which serve as an useful canon of judgment where the natural perception is wanting, should meet with more partisans, than those higher efforts of untutored genius, which are capable of a just estimation only by a kindred spirit to that which produced them.

This consideration enables us easily to account for the circumstance so often noticed as extraordinary,—the neglect shewn to some of the noblest productions of genius, at their first appearance ; and the small portion of fame which such authors as Shakespeare and Milton enjoyed in their own lifetime, compared to that high and universal celebrity to which they have since attained. The great mass of the public, incapable of appreciating, by any native perception of the sublime and beautiful, those high efforts of genius, required to be instructed and disciplined by the few critics of genuine taste, whose literary celebrity entitled them to guide the popular opinion. A fame thus acquired is of slow growth, and often retarded, not less by the dogmatism of false taste, than by the envious malignity of rivals in the same path of literature ; but these obstacles once overcome, it is permanent and universal.

If such, however, are the difficulties to be surmounted, and such the ordeal to be undergone by a genius of the first rank before he attains to his just estimation, and reaps the full harvest of his fame, it is a natural consequence, that many a most deserving candidate for the prize of reputation, yields to the severity of the trial ; and because not quite entitled to the highest honours, is unjustly deprived of that inferior share of praise which was truly due to his merits.

merits. Such has assuredly been the lot of many of our old English dramatic poets. The same excellencies of thought and expression which we idolize in the dramas of *Shakespeare*, are to be found, if not so frequent, yet in no scanty measure in the plays of *Beaumont and Fletcher*, *Massinger*, and *Shirley* : but they want the stamp of that great name, which has not only given additional lustre to beauties, but too frequently canonized deformities.

There is something generous in the attempt of the writer of the preceding letter to do justice to neglected merit. The *City Madam* of Massinger, is one of the best of that author's comedies ; and with a very few alterations and corrections, might be happily revived on the modern stage. Massinger excelled in the construction of his plots ; and, what is rarely to be observed in the older dramatic writers, there is scarcely a single scene in any of his pieces that has not a direct tendency to produce the catastrophe. He is likewise a very skilful delineator of character. Every personage in his plays, has his appropriate manners, and is in himself a well-finished portrait, possessing those features of individuality, which we never fail to perceive in real life, but which it requires the greatest skill to transfer to the creations of fancy. It is in this rare quality that the older English dramatists eminently excel the moderns. If the latter shall be allowed to surpass the former in the structure of their fables, which are more consonant to truth, and more artful and ingenious, without the aid of improbable fictions ; it must on the other hand be admitted, that in the skilful painting of the characters, they are as signally inferior to their predecessors. In the modern plays, the persons, singly considered, have no appropriate or distinct features : A modern dramatic writer gives to his persons only the general characteristics of the class to which they belong. They are heroes or poltroons, sages or fools, honest men or knaves ; and their actions

and

and discourse are sufficiently consonant to those general characteristics. You hear them expressing either noble, wise or foolish sentiments, honest purposes, or schemes of villany : they justly excite your approbation or your contempt, your esteem or your aversion. But make this hero or this sage, this poltroon or this villain the object of a close examination : compare him with others of his class, and you find he has no individual features : he is incapable of a particular description. He is not therefore a natural character : he resembles one of those masks or vizors worn by the Greek and Roman actors, each of which was painted to exhibit the characteristics of a particular passion ; and the same mask was put on as often as the same passion was to be represented.

But there is no criticism, (as Mr Hume well observes), which can be useful, without descending to particulars ; and I willingly indulge myself on a favourite subject, in giving a few examples in justification of these remarks.

The passion of avarice has its general characteristics ; and it requires no extraordinary talent to exhibit them in the drama, by the medium of such sentiments and actions as suit the general character of a miser. But it will be confessed, that the poet who could pen the following scene between a miser and his son, possessed the power of copying nature with a master's hand.

Philargyrus. My son to tutor me !—Know your obedience
And question not my will.

Partbenius. Sir, Were I one
Whom want compell'd to wish a full possession
Of what is yours ; or had I ever numbered
Your years, or thought you liv'd too long, with reason

You

You then might nourish ill opinions of me :
Or did the suit that I prefer to you
Concern myself, and aim'd not at your good,
You might deny, and I sit down with patience,
And after, never press you.

Philarg. I' the name of Pluto,
What wouldst thou have me do?

Partben. Right to yourself;
Or suffer me to do it.—Can you imagine
This nasty hat, this tatter'd cloak, rent shoe,
This sordid linen, can become the master
Of your fair fortunes, whose superfluous means
(Though I were burthensome) could clothe you in
The costliest Persian silks, studded with jewels,
The spoils of provinces; and every day
Fresh change of Tyrian purple?

Philarg. Out upon thee!
My moneys in my coffers melt to hear thee.
Purple! hence Prodigal! shall I make my mercer
Or tailor my heir, or see my jeweller purchase?
No, I hate pride.

Partben. Yet decency would do well :
Though for your outside you will not be alter'd,
Let me prevail so far yet, as to win you
Not to deny your belly nourishment;
Neither to think you've feasted when 'tis cramm'd
With mouldy barley-bread, onions and leeks,
And the drink of bondmen, water.

Philarg. Wouldst thou have me
Be an *Apicius* or a *Lucullus*,

And

And riot out my 'state in curious sauces?
Wise Nature with a little is contented;
And following her my guide, I cannot err:

Parthen. But you destroy Her, in your want of care
(I blush to see and speak it) to maintain her
In perfect health and vigour, when you suffer
(Frighted with the charge of physic) rheums, catarrhs,
The scurf, ache in your bones, to grow upon you,
And hasten on your fate with too much sparing;
When a cheap purge, a vomit, and good diet
May lengthen it. Give me but leave to send
The Emperor's doctor to you.

Philarg. I'll be borne first
Half-rotten to the fire that must consume me,
E'er his pills, cordials, his electuaries,
His syrups, juleps, bezoar stone, or his
Imagin'd unicorn's horn comes in my belly:
My mouth shall be a draught first. 'Tis resolv'd.
No! I'll not lessen my dear golden heap,
Which every hour increasing, does renew
My youth, my vigour;—but if lessen'd, then—
Then my poor heartstrings crack.—Let me enjoy it,
And brood o'er 't while I live;—it being my life,
My soul, my all.—But when I turn to dust,
And part from what is more esteem'd by me
Than all the gods Rome's thousand altars smoke to,
Inherit thou my adoration of it,
And, like me, serve my idol.

[Exit *Philargyrus*.]

Parthenius.

Parthen. What a strange torture
 Is avarice to itself! What man looks on
 Such a penurious spectacle, but must
 Know what the fable meant of Tantalus,
 Or the ass whose back is crack'd with curious viands,
 Yet feeds on thistles. Some course I must take,
 To make my father know what cruelty
 He uses on himself.——

MASSINGER's *Roman Actor*, Act II. Sc. I.

This, it will be allowed, is a high-finished portrait; and to vary the picture in any other dramatic character representative of the same passion, must, at first view, appear an arduous task. It would have proved so to a poet of inferior powers to Massinger's; but he has achieved it with success. His character of *Sir Giles Over-reach*, exhibits avarice, combined with inhumanity and brutal insolence.

To have a usurer that starves himself
 And wears a cloak of one and twenty years,
 Or a suit of fourteen groats, bought of the hangman;
 To grow rich, and then purchase, is too common:
 But this *Sir Giles* feeds high, keeps many servants,
 Who must at his command do any outrage;
 Rich in his habit, vast in his expences,
 Yet he, to admiration, still increases
 In wealth and lordships.——

Over-reach, and Marrall his Attorney.

Over-reach. He's gone, I warrant thee;—this commission
 crush'd him.

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rrall.

Marrall. Your worship has the way on't, and ne'er miss
To squeeze these unthrifths into air : and yet,
The chop-fall'n Justice did his part, returning
For your advantage the certificate,
Against his conscience and his knowledge too ;
(With your good favour) to the utter ruin
Of the poor farmer.

Over. 'Twas for these good ends
I made him a Justice. He that bribes his belly,
Is certain to command his soul.

Mar. I wonder
(Still with your licence) why your worship, having
The power to put this thin-gut in commission,
You are not in't yourself.

Over. Thou art a fool :
In being out of office, I am out of danger ;
Where, if I were a Justice, besides the trouble,
I might, or out of wilfulness, or error,
Run myself finely into a *pramunire*,
And so become a prey to the informer.
No.—I'll have none on't ; 'tis enough I keep
Greedy at my devotion ; so he serve
My purposes, let him hang, or damn, I care not.
Friendship,—'tis but a word.

Mar. You are all wisdom.

Over. I would be worldly wise ;—for the other wisdom,
That does prescribe us a well-govern'd life,
And to do right to others, as ourselves,
I value not an atom.

Mar.

Mar. What course take you,
(With your good patience) to hedge in the manor
Of your neighbour, Master *Frugal*? as 'tis said,
He will not sell, nor borrow, nor exchange;
And his land lying in the midst of your many lordships
Is a foul blemish.

Over. I have thought on't, *Marrall*;
And it shall take. I must have all men sellers,
And I the only purchaser.

Mar. 'Tis most fit, Sir.

Over. I'll therefore buy some cottage near his manor;
Which done, I'll make my men break down his fences,
Ride o'er his standing corn, and in the night,
Set fire on his barns—break his cattle's legs.
These trespasses draw on suits; and suits expences;
Which I can spare, but will soon beggar him.
When I have harried him thus, two or three years,
Though he sue *in forma pauperis*, in spite
Of all his thrift and care, he'll grow behind-hand.

Mar. The best I ever heard! I could adore you.

Over. Then, with the favour of my man of law,
I will pretend some title: Want will force him
To put it to arbitrement: Then, if he sell
For half the value, he shall have ready-money,
And I possess his land.

Mar. 'Tis above wonder!
Well-born was apt to sell, and needed not
These fine arts, Sir, to hook him in.

p 2

Over.

Over. Well thought on.—

This varlet, *Well-born*, lives too long to upraid me
With my close cheat put on him. Will not cold
Nor hunger kill him?

Mar. I know not what to think on't:

I have us'd all means; and the last night I caus'd
His host the tapster turn him out of doors;
And have been since with all your friends and tenants,
And, on the forfeit of your favour, charg'd them,
Though a crust of mouldy bread would keep him from starving;
Yet they should not relieve him. This is done, Sir.

Over. That was something, *Marrall*; but thou must go farther;
And suddenly, *Marrall*.

Mar. Where, and when you please, Sir.

Over. I would have thee seek him out: and if thou canst,
Persuade him that 'tis better steal than beg;
Then, if I prove he has but robb'd a hen-roost,—
Not all the world shall save him from the gallows.
Do any thing to work him to despair,
And 'tis thy masterpiece.

Mar. I'll do my best, Sir,

Over. I am now on my main work, with the Lord *Lovell*,
The gallant-minded popular Lord *Lovell*;
The minion of the people's love. I hear
He's come into the country; and my aims are
To insinuate myself into his knowledge,
And then invite him to my house.

Mar.

Mar. I have you :
This points at my young Mistress.

Over. She must part with
That humble title, and write *Honourable*,
Right Honourable, Marrall ! my Right Honourable Daughter !
If all I have, or e'er shall get, will do it.
I will have her well attended ; There are Ladies
Of Errant Knights decay'd, and brought so low,
That for cast clothes and meat will gladly serve her.
And 'tis my glory, though I come from the city,
To have their issue whom I have undone,
To kneel to mine, as bond-slaves.

Mar. 'Tis fit state, Sir,

Over. And therefore, I'll not have a chambermaid
That ties her shoes, or any meaner office,
But such whose fathers were *Right Worshipful*.
'Tis a rich man's pride ! there having ever been
More than a feud, a strange antipathy
Between us and true gentry.

A New Way to Pay Old Debts, Act II. Sc. 1.

But it is not alone in the exquisite delineation of character, that the Plays of Massinger, of Shirley, and of Beaumont and Fletcher, approach to the merits of Shakespeare. They rival him often in that forcible eloquence and glowing diction, which is the natural expression of the greater passions ; and that high spirit of poetry, which consists in the use and adaptation of just, noble and striking figures, which kindle the reader's enthusiasm, while they delight his imagination. I shall give a few specimens from each of these authors, without regard to method.

—A

—————A lethargy !
Rouse up thy spirit, man, and shake it off.——
A noble soul is like a ship at sea,
That sleeps at anchor when the ocean's calm ;
But when it rages, and the wind blows high,
He cuts his way with skill and majesty.

BEAUMONT & FLETCHER'S *Honest Man's Fortune*,
Act IV. Sc. 1.

In the following speech of *Archas*, an old General, unthankfully treated for his past services, and deprived of all employment by his ungrateful Sovereign, we trace a similarity of thought to one of the noblest passages in Shakespeare's *Othello*.

—————Glorious war, farewell !
Thou child of honour, and ambitious thoughts,
Begot in blood, and nurs'd with kingdom's groans :
Thou golden danger, courted by thy followers,
A long farewell I give thee ! Noble arms,
You ribs for mighty minds, you iron houses,
Made to defy the thunder-claps of fortune,
Rust and consuming time must now dwell with ye.
And, thou, good sword, that knew'st the way to conquest ;
Upon whose fatal edge despair and death dwelt ;
That when I shook thee thus, foreshew'd destruction ;
Sleep now from blood, and grace my monument !
Farewell my eagle ! When thou flew'st, whole armies
Have stoop'd below thee :—at passage I have seen thee
Ruffle the Tartars as they fled thy fury ;
And bang them up together ; as a tassell
Upon the stretch a flock of fearful pigeons.
I yet remember when the Volga curl'd,

The

The aged Volga, when he heav'd his head up
And rais'd his waters high, to see the ruins,
The ruins our swords made, the bloody ruins ;
Then flew this bird of honour, bravely, Gentlemen ;
——But these must be forgotten ; so must these too,
And all that tend to arms, by me, for ever !
Take them, you holy men ! My vow take with them,
Never to wear them more : Trophies I give them,
And sacred rites of war, to adorn the temple.
There let them hang, to tell the world their master
Is now devotion's soldier, fit for prayer.——
Why do you hang your heads ? Why look you sad, friends ?
I am not dying yet.——

BEAUMONT & FLETCHER's *Loyal Subject*, Act I Sc. 3.

The following scene from *Shirley*, where the Princess *Fioretta* goes to the prison to wreak her vengeance on *Juliana*, whom she supposed her rival, affords a noble specimen of sublime and pathetic eloquence.

Juliana. Ha ! 'Tis the Princess *Fioretta*.

Fioretta. Can you direct me, Madam, how I may
Speak with the noble lady *Juliana* ?

Jul. I can instruct you, Madam, where to find
A miserable woman of that name,

Fior. Where ?

Jul. Here.

Fior. Do not deceive me.
I came to visit her whom the Duke's love

And

And confluence of glories must create
A Dutchess ; to whose greatness I must pay
My adoration.

Jul. Do not mock her, Madam,
To whose undoing nothing wants but death :
Let not my sin, which cannot hope your pardon,
Make you forget your virtue. Princely natures,
As they are next to forms angelical,
Shew the wretch acts of pity, not derision,
When she is fall'n from innocence.

Fior. Do you know me ?

Jul. For the most injured Princess, *Fioretta*.

Fior. You must know more.—I come to take revenge,
And kill thee !

Jul. Thus, I kneel to meet your wounds,
And shall account the drops my proud veins weep
Spent for my cure. Oh Madam ! you are not cruel.—
You have too soft, too merciful a look :—
When you see me, your countenance should wear
Upon it all the terrors that pale men
Can apprehend from the wild face of war,
A civil war, that wo'not spare the womb
That groan'd and gave it life.—This would become you :
Or fancy meagre famine, when she hunts
With hollow eyes, and teeth able to grind
A rock of adamant to dust ; or what
Complexion the devouring pest should have,
Were it to take a shape ; and when you put
Their horrors in your visage, look on me.

Fior.

Fior. What hath prepar'd this bold resolve?

Jul. A hope

To be your sacrifice: I was not before
Without a thought to wish myself thus laid,
And at your feet to beg you would destroy me.

Fior. Canst thou so easily consent to die,
And know not whither afterwards this guilt
Would fling thy wand'ring soul?

Jul. Yes.—I would pray,
And ask yourself, and the wrong'd world forgiveness. [*Weeps.*]

Fior. Why didst thou use me thus?

Jul. I could, if you
Durst hear me, say something perhaps would take
Your charity.—Do you weep, gentle Madam?
And not one crimson drop from me, to wait
Upon those precious showers! Not to invite
Your patience upon the lost *Juliana*,
But to call back your tears into their spring,
And stay the weeping stream, I can inform you,
The Duke looks on me now with eyes of anger;
I have no interest in a thought from him,
That is not armed with hate and scorn against me.

Fior. This will undo my pity, and assure me
Thou hast all this while dissembled with my justice.

Jul. I would I might as soon invest my soul
With my first purity, as clear this truth;

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Or

Or would the loss of him were all that sits
 Heavy upon my heart: I cannot hope
 For comfort in delays of death, and dare
 Attend you to him, though it more undo me.

SHIRLEY'S *Imposture*, Act V.

The same luxuriancy of poetic fancy, frequently tinged with conceit and quaintness, which we observe in Shakespeare, is equally remarkable in the poets of the same school.

Though I have lost my fortune, and lost you,
 For a worthy father: yet I will not lose
 My former virtue; my integrity
 Shall not yet forsake me: But as the wild ivy
 Spreads and thrives better in some piteous ruin
 Of tower or defaced temple, than it does
 Planted by a new building, so shall I
 Make my adversity my instrument
 To wind me up into a full content.

BEAUMONT & FLETCHER'S *Fair Maid of the Inn*.

Viola. Woman, they say, was only made of Man:
 Methinks 'tis strange they should be so unlike!
 It may be, all the best was ta'en away
 To make the woman, and the naught was left
 Behind with him. I'll sit me down and weep.
 All things have cast me from them, but the earth.—
 The evening comes, and every little flower
 Droops now, as well as I.

BEAUMONT & FLETCHER'S *Concumb*, Act III.

I close these illustrations * with a specimen of comic dialogue, from a cotemporary writer, *Marston*, whose singular merit it was, (like the Greek *Menander's*), that, with a rich luxuriancy of fancy, and an easy vein of wit and humour, his page is never polluted with indecency, or stained with ribaldry and scurrility. The fruitless studies of scholastic sophistry were never more justly or ingeniously satirized than in the following passage :

I was a scholar : seven usef'ul springs
 Did I deflower in quotations
 Of cross'd opinions 'bout the soul of man.
 The more I learn'd, the more I learn'd to doubt :
 Knowledge and wit, faith's foes, turn faith about.
 Nay mark :—*Delight*, my spaniel, slept ; whilst I paus'd leaves,
 Toss'd o'er by dunces ; por'd on the old print
 Of titled words ; and still my spaniel slept :

q q

Whilst

* In an ingenious Essay on the writings of Massinger, by Dr FERRIAR, prefixed to a new and valuable edition of the poet's works by W. GIFFORD, Esq; the following passage, while it touches the chief characteristic excellence of the old English comedy, assigns a very probable cause for the deficiency in that respect in the modern drama, and the consequent inferiority of its productions.

“ The neglect of our old comedies seems to arise from other causes than from the
 “ employment of blank verse in their dialogue ; for in general, its construction is so
 “ natural, that in the mouth of a good actor, it runs into elegant prose. The fre-
 “ quent delineations of perishable manners in our old comedy have occasioned this
 “ neglect ; and we may foresee the fate of our present fashionable pieces, in that
 “ which has attended Johnson's, Fletcher's, and Massinger's.—The changes of
 “ manners have necessarily produced very remarkable effects on theatrical perform-
 “ ances. In proportion as our best writers are further removed from the present
 “ times, they exhibit bolder and more diversified characters, because the prevailing
 “ manners admitted a fuller display of sentiments in the common intercourse of life.
) “ Our own times, in which the intention of polite education is to produce a general,
 “ uniform

Whilst I wasted lamp-oil, bated my flesh,
 Shrunk up my veins ;—and still my spaniel slept.——
 And still I held converse with *Zabarell*,
Aquinas, *Scotus*, and the musty saws
 Of ancient *Donate* ;—still my spaniel slept.——
 Still on went I.—First, *An sit anima ?*
 Then, an it were mortal. O hold, hold,——
 At that, they're at brain-buffets ;—fallen by the ears
 Again, pell-mell together ;—still my spaniel slept.——
 Then, whether 'twere corporeal, local, fix'd,
Ex traduce ? But whether 't had free-will
 Or no, the philosophers
 Stood banding factions, all so strongly propp'd,
 I stagger'd ; knew not which was firmer part,
 But thought, quoted, read, observ'd, and pryed,
 Stuff'd noting-books ;—and still my spaniel slept.——
 At length he wak'd, and yawn'd ; and, by yon sky !
 For aught I know, he knew as much as I.

MARSTON'S *What you will*.

These are a very few, out of the numberless specimens that might
 be given, of the merits of those too much neglected writers.——Our
 own times have seen a noble attempt to revive the taste for those
 peculiar and striking excellencies of the old English drama, without
 any of its impurities, and chastened by the correction of its extrava-
 gancies, both of plot and manners, in the admirable *Plays of Miss*
Joanna

“ uniform manner, afford little diversity of character for the stage. Our dramatists,
 “ therefore, mark the distinctions of their characters, by incidents more than by sen-
 “ timents, and abound more in striking situations than interesting dialogue. In the
 “ old comedy, the catastrophe is occasioned, in general, by a change in the mind of
 “ some principal character, artfully prepared, and cautiously conducted : in the mo-
 “ dern, the unfolding of the plot is effected by the overturning of a screen, the open-
 “ ing of a door, or some other equally dignified machine.”

Joanna Baillie. It requires no great sagacity to foresee, that a much higher measure of reputation awaits these productions of true genius, than they have yet attained to.

APPENDIX.—No. VIII.

I HAVE mentioned that Lord Kames was in the habit of frequent and familiar correspondence with his bookseller Mr Creech. As these letters regarded chiefly matters of business relative to the publication of his different works, and corrections on the several editions, they are not of a nature generally interesting. The two following short letters are, however, selected as characteristic of the writer. The first, in particular, displays a very amiable feature of his disposition.

To Mr. CREECH.

GOOD MR CREECH, *Blair-Drummond, April 12. 1773.*

I have received the copy of *Elements of Criticism* for correcting upon. It has been long of coming: there is however no time lost; for, ever since I left town, I have been extremely busy about my *Opus magnum**, which is now very near a close, leaving me nothing
to

* His *Sketches of the History of Man.*

to do but polishing, which never has an end. I guess I shall be ready with the fourth part of the *Elements* before I go to the circuit; so that you may prepare for printing next week, if you please; for I can hold the press going from week to week.

In the Preface to *Camden's Britannia*, I am informed, that mention is made of *Ossian*, as an Irish poet. Be so good as look for the passage, and let me have a copy of it; for it will be one link in the chain of evidence.

In the fifth volume of Dodsley's *Collection of Poems*, there is one by T***** D***** at page 226. which will make a good illustration of a new rule of criticism that is to go into the new edition of the *Elements*. But as it is unfavourable to the author of that poem, I wish to know whether he be alive; for I would not willingly give pain.—Might you not come out here, any time in the end of a week, for two or three days?—Yours,

HENRY HOME.

Send me out the second volume of Sir John Dalrymple.

To Mr CREECH.

DEAR SIR,

Blair-Drummond, October 20. 1773.

You shall not have it in your power to accuse me of lingering. On the contrary, perhaps you may soon have reason to think me too active a correspondent. I give you notice, that I have been ready for you, several weeks ago; particularly, that I have put the last hand to the First Book. I wish to hear from you what is passing in the

the world, especially with regard to literature. Tell my good friend Mr Alexander Adam *, that I have ready for him a most exact definition of a verb, which even Mr Harris has missed.

Remember your promised visit here. I shall be disappointed if you do not come. I love a walk ; and I love a sensible companion to walk with.—Yours,

HENRY HOME.

* Dr ALEXANDER ADAM, Rector of the High School of Edinburgh, author of *Roman Antiquities*, *A Summary of Geography and History*, *A Classical Latin Dictionary*, *Classical Biography*, and other very useful works ; a man equally respectable for his worth and learning, and for whom Lord Kames entertained a sincere friendship and esteem.

END OF VOLUME SECOND.

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Page 86. line 2. *of the first Note, for p. 107. read p. 184.*

— 102. — 6. whose sagacity *read* and whose sagacity

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